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A STUDY OF THE KENNINGS IN ANGLO-SAXON
POETRY.

The word *kenning* is used throughout this investigation not at all in the sense in which Snorri uses it in the *Skaldskaparmal*, but simply as a convenient designation of a metaphorical, a periphrastic, or a more or less complex term employed in the Anglo-Saxon poems instead of the single, specific name for a person or thing. It is intended, further, to include even the single, specific word, when that word is modified by an adjective which expresses an important quality or attribute. Thus, for example, *halig god* and *witig god* are classed with *cýning*, *weoroda dryhten*, and *eallra þrymma þrym* as kennings for the Deity.

A study of the Anglo-Saxon terms involves a comparison in some measure with the terms for corresponding conceptions in the other Germanic dialects. As for the Old Norse kennings, there is no attempt here either to list them in full or to discuss them in detail. Those in the older and more or less heathen poems are almost all quite different from the Anglo-Saxon terms, and, furthermore, have been collected and conveniently classified in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*;¹ and those in the later Christian poems have been discussed by Kahle.² The instances of resemblance, however, that seem significant are mentioned in the notes on the Anglo-Saxon terms.

With the Old Saxon poems the case is different; here both the resemblances and the differences are so many and so interesting that it seemed worth while to include the *Heliand* and Old Saxon *Genesis* kennings and to make some general observations on them as well as to make use of them in the discussion of the authorship problems in certain of the Anglo-Saxon poems.

¹Vigfusson and Powell: *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, II. 449-486. Oxford, 1883.

²B, Kahle: *Das Christentum in der altwestnord. Dichtung. Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, XVII, *Ny Följd XIII*. [cf. also *Die Altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums* by the same author. *Acta Germanica*, I, 4 ff. Berlin, 1904.]

From the Old High German I have included for comparison the few terms found in the *Hildebrandslied*, the *Muspilli*, and the *Wessobrunner Gebet*. Lack of time has forbidden a collection of the terms from Otfrid's prosaic *Evangelienbuch*.

Furthermore, in this study of the kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry, no attempt whatever is made to classify, or in any way to consider the terms from the point of view of a rhetorician or a psychologist. The two and only two aims at present are these: (1) to discover and classify the sources of as many Anglo-Saxon terms as possible; and (2) in the light of these sources, to compare the kennings for a considerable number of representative conceptions as expressed in the most important Anglo-Saxon poems, for the purpose of determining what evidence may be deduced from such comparison in regard to questions of authorship.

In the matter of sources, there is practically no evidence of Celtic influence; but the number of Latin originals for Anglo-Saxon terms is very large. For the great majority of terms for religious conceptions—the most numerous class in Anglo-Saxon poetry—there can be no doubt as to Latin origins. For many terms expressing ideas not of a religious nature, moreover, there are exact or nearly exact Latin equivalents. Since, however, these latter terms for the most part designate universal and commonplace objects or ideas, consisting of phrases for Men, Human Body, Breast, Live, Die, Death, Speak, Earth, Sea, and the Heavenly Bodies, it is impossible to determine with absolute finality whether they are derived from their Latin equivalents, or whether, being of independent Germanic origin, their resemblance to the Latin terms is purely accidental. In the case of the vast majority of the religious kennings, however, there can be no question. In them we see clearly mirrored the triumph of Christianity over the old beliefs.

In the authorship problems, it is evident, in view of the common stocks of phrases, native and Latin, which were liberally used in every Christian poem, that one can draw no safe conclusions as to identity of authorship from the fact that two

poems contain a large number of identical or similar terms. If such evidence were valid, one could prove that Cynewulf wrote all of the religious poetry and Beowulf besides. The problem is much more complicated; one must consider in detail the terms for a large number of varied conceptions, and, in so doing, note both similarities and differences in usage. If the similarities in the terms may be reasonably explained by the common sources, then the differences in usage, if consistent throughout, become good evidence of diversity of authorship. And if, on the other hand, there are no appreciable differences in usage and the terms in all the categories are similar in number and in kind, then there is evidence of identity of authorship.

From the point of view of kennings, then, the authorship problems are considered in the following poems: (1) the Cynewulfian group—Crist I, Crist III, Guthlac, Andreas, Phoenix, Dream of the Rood, Judith, and the Riddles; (2) the Caedmonian group—Genesis, Exodus, Daniel (and Azarias), and Christ and Satan; (3) Beowulf. And the sole purpose is to discover what evidence as to authorship may, in the light of the sources of many terms, be drawn from a careful and detailed study of the kennings for a considerable number of conceptions common to the poems compared.

SOURCES OF ANGLO-SAXON KENNINGS.

Since kennings in the sense in which the term has been defined constitute an important element in the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry, both Christian and pagan, it may be assumed that the attempt to discover the sources of these often recurring phrases needs little defense. It will perhaps be granted further that the collection and classification of any considerable number of these sources would be a task worth doing. Such a work ought to assist somewhat in the understanding and consequently the appreciation of Anglo-Saxon poetry in that it would tend to show when the author is giving expression to conceptions borrowed by him or by his predecessors from non-Germanic for-

eign sources and when he is giving utterance to conceptions that are either of native or of common Germanic origin. If this in each instance could be fully shown, we should doubtless derive some valuable hints as to the mode of thought and method of workmanship of the different authors, some hint likewise as to their personality, and thus some light on the much vexed questions of authorship. The complete and accurate solution of these involved problems probably can never be attained, and of course cannot be expected to result from the investigation of one element in the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is certain, nevertheless, that the study of the sources of the kennings does throw a good deal of light on the Latin influences which strongly colored the style of the Anglo-Saxon poems.

Nothing like a thorough, systematic study of the sources, however, has as yet been made. The reasons doubtless are that such a task is bound to require a great deal of very tedious labor, and further that investigators have been deterred by the opinion of Bode,³ who has studied Anglo-Saxon kennings with more care probably than anyone else. He says: "Wenn ich an eine vollständige Bewältigung meiner Aufgabe hätte denken können, so hätte ich nicht auf gelegentliche Anmerkungen beschränken dürfen, sondern hätte die den Angelsachsen bekannten lateinischen Schriftsteller, also etwa diejenigen, die Alcuin als Eigentum der Bibliothek zu York erwähnt, eingehend vergleichen müssen. Ich konnte den dazu nötigen Mut nicht fassen und tröste mich nun mit den geringen unanzweifelbaren Ergebnissen, die die Litteraturgeschichte von derartigen Vergleichen bisher gehabt hat, wiewohl doch so viele Litteraturhistoriker von einem krankhaften Eifer befallen sind, mit Hülfe der beliebten, aber unsicheren Methode, aus Aenlichkeiten auf Einwirkung zu schliessen, überall neue Entdeckungen zu machen."

What actually has been done may be briefly summarized. Bode accomplished what he limited himself to do, viz., to collect

³Wilhelm Bode: *Die Kenningar in der Ags. Dichtung*. Darmstadt u. Leipzig, 1886, page 22f.

and arrange from most of the Anglo-Saxon poems many kennings (but not all) for fifty-four well selected representative conceptions. Of these kennings he found about 900, which occur altogether some 2500 times. This was his main purpose. He adds, for comparison, a few parallels, apparently such as occurred to him at the moment, from Greek, Latin, Old High German, Modern German, Modern English, Modern French, etc., together with a very considerable number from Old Saxon and Old Norse. As to the sources of the Anglo-Saxon kennings, he says:⁴ "Sind nun alle dieser kenningar angelsächsisches oder altgermanisches Eigentum? Die meisten sicherlich, doch nicht alle. Keltische Entlehnungen wären denkbar, die Entnahme von religiösen Kunstnamen aus der Bibel, unmittelbar oder mittelbar, steht ausser Zweifel, auch ist eine Einwirkung des lateinischen, namentlich des Christlich-lateinischen Sprachgebrauchs nicht abzuweisen, denn unsere ags. Denkmäler sind zumeist im Original oder in der letzten Uebersetzung in Klöstern niedergeschrieben, wo angelsächsisches und lateinisches Lesen und Dichten oft nebeneinander gepflegt wurden; da waren gegenseitige Beeinflussungen natürlich." This certainly does not imply any wide or deep Latin influence. He then continues with the discouraging *obiter dictum* quoted above about the futility of inferring influence from similarity, and concludes as follows:⁵ "Wir lassen also die Frage wo angelsächsische kenningar Uebersetzungen lateinischer sind und wo lateinische Schriftsteller und angelsächsische selbständig zu gleichen Ausdrücken gelangt sind, offen." Thus he puts aside the question of sources, consoling himself with the reflection that the quest is not likely to prove fruitful.

MacGillivray,⁶ in discussing the Christian influence on the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, confines his attention simply to terms relating to church services, offices, officers, and the like. His

⁴Bode, page 22.

⁵Bode, page 23.

⁶H. MacGillivray: *The influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English.* Halle, 1902.

investigation, which is called Part I, appeared in 1902, but nothing, so far as I know, has been published by him since that time. MacGillivray, then, does not concern himself with kennings and of course has nothing to say about the sources.

Gummere⁷ deals with Anglo-Saxon metaphors from the point of view of formal rhetoric, and makes a technical analysis and classification of them, particularly of those that occur in *Beowulf* and in the so-called Caedmonian poems. He is arguing against the views of Heinzel,⁸ who, in regard to *Beowulf*, proposed the theory that the gentleness, humanity, and idealization of the poem show that it was composed after the conversion to Christianity and also that Christian clerical influence restricted the development of simile and metaphor. Gummere, on the other hand, concludes: "The typical Anglo-Saxon metaphor was originally confined to one word, or at the furthest, to several words that stood in closest syntactical relation. This general type has been invaded by the influence of the Latin literature of the church, especially by the hymns. The result, whether as an extended metaphor, simile, or learned allegory, is found not so much in *Beowulf* as in the Caedmonian poems, but even here to no overwhelming degree." He adduces no proof, however, of Latin influence in the matter of similes, nor does he say anything in regard to the innumerable Christian Latin metaphors. His investigation is not in any way a study of sources.

Hoffmann⁹ thinks there is some measure of truth in Heinzel's view in regard to Latin influence. And others, for example Kent¹⁰ and Price,¹¹ in studies of the Teutonic antiquities in

⁷F. B. Gummere: *The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*. Halle, 1881.

⁸R. Heinzel. *Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie. Quellen u. Forschungen X.* Strassburg, 1875.

⁹A. Hoffman: *Der Bildliche Ausdruck im Beowulf und der Edda. Eng. Studien, VI*, 163ff.

¹⁰C. W. Kent: *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*. Leipzig, 1887.

¹¹M. B. Price: *Teutonic Antiquities in the Generally Acknowledged Cynewulfian Poetry*. Leipzig, 1896.

special poems, point out occasional equivalents that occur in the generally accepted Latin sources of these poems. In so doing, Kent calls attention to the fact that the number of these equivalents in the originals is very small. This fact, like the statement of Bode quoted above, would naturally tend to deter others from the attempt to investigate the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kennings.

For one reason or another, then, though Celtic influences have been thought conceivable by Bode and Latin influences have been affirmed in a general way by him, as well as by Heinzel, Hoffman, Gummere, and others, no very definite attempt apparently has yet been made to ascertain specifically what these foreign influences were or to what extent they were operative. And this notwithstanding the fact that in some instances Biblical sources are obvious and notwithstanding the additional fact that certain Anglo-Saxon translations and paraphrases, such as the *Phoenix*, *Be Domes Dæge*, the *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and the *Lord's Prayer* as well as the *maccaroni verses*, suggest Latin originals for a considerable number of the kennings in the Anglo-Saxon stock.

In this article I shall try to identify the sources of many of the Anglo-Saxon kennings, particularly, those of a religious nature. As for Celtic originals, I shall have little to say, first, because I cannot speak from a first-hand knowledge of Celtic texts; secondly, because translations reveal extremely few equivalents but suggest that the native Celtic kennings differed widely from the Anglo-Saxon and are much more nearly akin to the highly artificial diction of the skaldic Norse poetry; and thirdly, because practically all of the close Celtic equivalents that I have found occur in Irish hymns and can be most reasonably accounted for by the theory that they are translations or paraphrases of the same Latin phrases that produced the corresponding Anglo-Saxon kennings. "Manches ist im religiösen Wortschatz der Angelsachsen noch dunkel, aber nichts ist als frühe Entlehnung von ihren keltischen Nachbarn erwiesen."¹²

¹²A. Brandl: *Pauls Grundriss. Second ed., p. 950.*

In making this investigation, I have selected from the vast amount of Latin literature that one might consult if time allowed, the following works as a basis for my study:

A. The Vulgate Bible, and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

B. Some fifty authors of Latin hymns dating from the earliest extant down to the 11th century.

C. Other late Latin poets in addition to the hymn writers as follows: Sedulius, Juvencus, Prudentius, Avitus, Fortunatus, Arator, Ennodius, Lactantius, Meropius Paulinus, Aldhelm and Bede.¹³

D. Other Latin prose as follows: Gregory, Augustine, Boethius, *Acta Sanctorum*, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, *Evangelia Apocrypha*.¹⁴

I have selected these works because it is reasonable to assume that they were more or less familiar to the authors of the Anglo-Saxon poems. The Christian tone and coloring of the great majority of the poems and indeed of all the Anglo-Saxon literature, as well as the themes treated and the method of treatment, make it probable certainly that the authors were familiar with the Bible, the hymns and church services, and to some degree at least with the writings of the church fathers, the *Acta Sanctorum*, and the works of the early Latin Christian poets. Further, in regard to books that were accessible, we have, aside from evidence furnished by translations and paraphrases such as the *Phoenix*, the direct evidence of Alcuin in his often quoted lines on the treasures of the library at York:

"Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum,
 Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
 Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis,
 Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
 Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
 Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius atque

¹³Not all the poems in each instance; the ones consulted will be mentioned later.

¹⁴The specific works and parts of works will be indicated later.

Ambrosius praesul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus:
Quidquid Gregorius summus docet et Leo papa;
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruscant.
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostomus atque Johannes.
Quidquid et Althelmus docuit, quid Beda magister,
Quae Victorinus scripsere Boetius atque,
Historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipse
Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens.
Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvenus,
Alcimus et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt.
Quae Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et auctor,
Artis grammaticae vel quid scripsere magistri;
Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus Priscianusve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.
Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem
Egregios studiis, arte et sermone magistros,
Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu;
Nomina sed quorum praesenti in carmine scribi
Longius est visum, quam plectra postulet usus.”¹⁵

Bede also in his *De Arte Metrica*¹⁶ quotes Fortunatus,¹⁷ Sedulius,¹⁸ Arator,¹⁹ Paulinus,²⁰ Ambrosius,²¹ and others.

With this compare also Otfrid's dedication of his *Evangelienbuch* to Archbishop Liutbert: “Dum rerum quondam sonus inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam probatissimorum virorum, eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam memoriae dignis fratibus rogatus, maximeque cuiusdam venerandae matronae verbis nimium flagitantis, nomine

¹⁵*De Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae. II. 1536-61.* Quoted in *Translations from Old English Prose.* Cook and Tinker, p. 263. Boston, 1908.

¹⁶*Opera Bedae Venerabilis, Basileae, 1563.*

¹⁷ib. p. 51.

¹⁸p. 50.

¹⁹p. 47.

²⁰p. 51.

²¹p. 56.

Judith, partem evangeliorum eis theotisce conscriberem, ut aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum secularium vocum deleret, et in evangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutilium rerum noverint declinare; petitioni quoque iungentes queremoniam, quod gentilium vates, ut Virgilius, Lucanus, Ovidius caeterique quam plurimi suorum facta decorarent lingua nativa, quorum iam voluminum dictis fluctuare cognoscimus mundum; nostrae etiam sectae probatissimorum virorum facta laudabant Juvenici, Aratoris, Prudentii caeterorumque multorum, qui sua lingua dicta et miracula Christi decenter ornabant; nos vero, quamvis eadem fide eademque gratia instructi, divinorum verborum splendorem clarissimum proferre propria lingua dicebant pigrescere.” (Wilhelm Braune. *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 141. Halle, 1902.) Furthermore, it is inherently probable, not to say certain, that the Anglo-Saxon narrative Christian poems were modeled upon those of Juvenius, Sedulius, Avitus, Arator, and others, who in turn are largely indebted to Vergil and more remotely perhaps to Lucan and Ovid.²²

By indicating the direct and the indirect sources of many Anglo-Saxon terms, I shall distinguish them from the kennings for which I have found no Latin sources or parallels. And in regard to these, I shall try to determine by means of comparison with the other Germanic dialects, what kennings, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, may reasonably be supposed to be either of native or of common Germanic origin. I need hardly add that such a classification of kennings as borrowed, native, and common Germanic, is necessarily simply tentative and a matter of probabilities. One could not make a definite, sharp classification even if he could determine and should study carefully every bit of Latin that the Anglo-Saxon authors were acquainted with. In the first place, a Latin equivalent does not in every instance necessarily mean a direct Latin source; and secondly, the amount of Germanic poetry which can be posi-

²²cf. Otfried's dedication above.

tively said to have been uninfluenced by Christian and Latin literature is obviously too small to warrant one in making a strictly categorical classification on the basis of origins. A study of the following collections, however, will show that many of the Anglo-Saxon kennings may be definitely classified as of Latin, others of Germanic, and still others of mixed origin.

It is to be noted, further, that in the following collections, whether from the Bible or from any other source, I do not maintain that each Latin phrase here given produced an equivalent in Anglo-Saxon. Many Latin phrases are included in order to indicate how large was the stock of kennings from which Anglo-Saxon authors might have drawn. It is to be noted also, as will be explained later, that in many instances a Latin kenning produced in Anglo-Saxon not only its exact equivalent but also, as a result of the demands of metre, alliteration, etc., a considerable group of variants. And finally it is to be noted that I do not maintain that in every case where an exact equivalent does occur the Anglo-Saxon kenning is necessarily derived from the Latin and could not possibly have had an independent origin; this is a question that can be decided—if decided at all—only upon a consideration of each particular case by itself.

In the presentation of the following collections, it has seemed advisable not to use the method of parallel columns, one for the Latin and the other for the Anglo-Saxon—a method which may seem to be the most convenient. Relations are often too complicated to be shown adequately in this way. Accordingly, I give first all the Latin terms and then the Anglo-Saxon. The Latin kennings, with reference to the sources from which they are drawn, are divided into four main groups, as follows:

Group A: Kennings from the Vulgate and the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

Group B: Kennings from the hymns.

Group C: Kennings from other late Latin poetry.

Group D: Kennings from prose.

In each of these groups and in the same order are the various subdivisions under the titles "Deity," "Heaven," "Hell,"

"Angel(s)," "Devil(s)," "Man," etc. And in some of these sub-classes further subdivisions were desirable: *e. g.* under "Deity" will be found lists respectively for "Creator," "Ruler," "Judge," "Savior," etc.

In the Anglo-Saxon collections the same categories are used and occur in the same order as in the Latin. Cross-references, it is hoped, will make comparison easy.

A.

First, then, as to the Biblical terms. Most of these from long familiarity seem to us to-day simple and natural, though in some cases, as, for example, in the *Canticum Canticorum*, they are as highly wrought and artificial as the Celtic or skaldic Norse kennings. I have examined particularly Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, Judith, the Gospels, and Revelations because we know these parts to have been used by Anglo-Saxon authors, and the Psalms because—aside from the fact that they were translated and paraphrased—it is inherently probable that they were very familiarly known and hence influential in determining the nature and the form of many of the Anglo-Saxon religious kennings. The following lists, however, do not pretend to be exhaustive for these parts, much less for the whole Vulgate.

In connection with the Vulgate, I include here terms from the Gospel of Nicodemus; the references are to the pages of the Tischendorf edition.²³

There is some evidence that Old Latin versions of parts of the Bible were known and used as well as the Vulgate. This evidence is furnished by the Latin text in the Regius Psalter, the Eadwine of Canterbury Psalter, and by two quotations in Asser's Life of King Alfred. The Latin text in the Regius Psalter²⁴ is the *Psalterium Romanum*, with slight departures from the readings given in Migne Patrol. XXIX, and is very close to the Latin in the Eadwine Psalter.²⁵ The differences be-

²³*Evangelia Apocrypha. Evang. Nicodemi.* Leipzig, 1876.

²⁴*Der ae. Regius Psalter.* F. Roeder, p. XVI. Halle, 1904.

²⁵*Der Psalter des Eadwine von Canterbury,* p. 212. K. Wildhage, Halle, 1905.

tween these Latin texts and the Vulgate are simply in small details mostly grammatical, and do not in any way affect the terms from which Anglo-Saxon kennings were derived. As for Asser's quotations, Stevenson remarks: "The Biblical quotations are derived in two cases (cc. 76, 49; 99, 18) from Old Latin versions; in the remaining cases (cc. 76, 58; 89, 9; 96, 20; 99, 21; 101, 12) they may be either from the Vulgate or from Old Latin versions. The use of these pre-Hieronymian versions is noteworthy, for they remained long in use in the Gaulish and Celtic churches. The English, owing to their close intimacy with the Church of Rome, used the Vulgate. The advance of the Church of Rome in Wales and Ireland is marked step by step by the gradual adoption of the Vulgate. The fact that the author used an Old Latin version is, therefore, quite in consonance with his character of a Welshman writing at the end of the 9th century".²⁶

Aside from the Psalters, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that Old Latin versions were used by Anglo-Saxon writers. It certainly seems probable that from the introduction of Roman Christianity at the beginning of the 7th century, the use of the Vulgate must have been increasing, and that after the Council of Whitby (664) it must have been supreme. My Biblical references, accordingly, are all to the Vulgate version of Jerome.

B.

For the Latin hymns I have used the collections in the *Analecta Hymnica*, vols. 50²⁷ and 51²⁸. My references are to volume and page, but the authorship of each phrase will appear from the following list, in which I give the date of each writer and the page numbers of his hymns whenever the author is known:

²⁶W. H. Stevenson: *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. XCIVf. Oxford, 1904.

²⁷ ²⁸*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 50: *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters. Zweite Folge*. Ed. by G. M. Dreves. Leipzig, 1907. Vol. 51: *Die Hymnen des 5-11 Jahrhunderts und die Irisch-Keltische Hymnodie aus den ältesten Quellen*. Ed. by Clemens Blume. Leipzig, 1908.

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1 Hilarius Pictaviensis +366	3-9
2 Aurelius Ambrosius +397	10-21
3 Aurelius Prudentius Clemens +405 c	22-46
4 Meropius Pontius Paulinus +431	47-52
5 Caelius Sedulius saec. V. med.	53-60
6 Magnus Felix Ennodius +521	61-69
7 Venantius Fortunatus +600 c	70-88
8 Eugenius III, Episc. Toletanus +658	89-95
9 Beda Venerabilis +735	96-106
10 Paulus Diaconus, Monachus Casinensis +799	117-125
11 Paulinus II, Patriarcha Aquilegiensis +802	126-151
12 Alcuinus Flaccus +804	152-159
13 Theodulphus, Episc. Aurelianensis +821	160-166
14 Walafrius Strabo, Abbas Angeiensis +849	167-179
15 Rabanus Maurus +856	180-209
16 Florus, Diaconus Lugdunensis saec. IX. med.	210-218
17 Godescalcus, Monachus Orbacensis +869	219-228
18 Sedulius Scottus, Scholasticus Leodiensis +874 c	229-236
19 Ratpertus, Monachus Sangallensis +884 c	237-243
20 Waldrammus, Monachus Sangallensis saec. IX ex.	244-249
21 Hartmannus, Abbas Sancti Galli +925	250-263
22 Odo, Abbas Cluniacensis +943	264-270
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1 Gregorius Maximus +604	24-31, 34-38
2 Sigon Claromontanus vel Carnotensis +873 c	68
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5 Hucbaldus Elnonensis	146, 192-193
6 Wandalbertus Prumiensis saec. IX.	153-154, 172
7 Petrus Subdiaconus Neapolitanus +890 c	160
8 Wolstanus Wintoniensis	164-166
9 Petrus Diaconus (Petrus Pisanus or No. 7, supra. ?) saec. IX. ex.	173-175

10	Paulus Diaconus +799	169
11	Anonymus Compendiensis saec. IX. ex.	173-175
12	Chilpericus Rex +584	203-207
13	Notkerus Physicus +975	213-214
14	Anonymus Padoliranensis saec. X.	223-224
15	Ermanricus Ellwangensis saec. IX.	225
16	Notkerus Balbulus +912	229-234
17	Cosmas Matealensis saec. X.	234-235
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1	Columba +597	275-286, 325
2	Cuchuimneus +746	305-306
3	Cumineus Longus +661 c	308-309
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6	Colmanus MacMurchon +731	330
7	Moilruainus +792	333-334
8	Secundinus +448 c	340-342
9	Columbanus +615	352-353
10	Gyldas Sapiens ²⁹ +569	358-361

In addition to these hymns from the *Analecta Hymnica*, I have also used the *Surtees Hymns*.³⁰ Among these appear certain hymns of some of the authors already named: for example, seven hymns of Aurelius Ambrosius; six of Rabanus Maurus; four of Venantius Fortunatus; one of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, etc. I have not attempted to identify all the hymns in the Surtees collection. The references are to the pages.

I have also used the hymn ascribed to Bede³¹ quoted by Professor Cook on pp. 116-117 of his edition of the *Crist*, and of the hymn quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*:

²⁹My authority for date and authorship in each case is the conclusion of the respective editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* cited above.

³⁰*The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Publications of the Surtees Society for year 1851. Vol. XXIII.*

B.H. . . . Ascension hymn ascribed to Bede (Migne Patrol. XCIV, 624ff) printed by Professor Cook on p. 116ff of his edition of the *Crist*.

Q.B. . . . Alphabetical hymn (quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*) printed by Professor Cook on p. 171f of his edition of the *Crist*.

Ant. . . . Antiphons cited by Professor Cook as sources of *Crist I*.

C.

Of the Christian Latin poetry in addition to the hymns, I have examined the following works:

of Sedulius: ³²	Carmen Paschale.
Avitus: ³³	De Mundi Initio, De Transitu Maris Rubri.
Prudentius: ³⁴	All extant poems.
Juvencus: ³⁵	Libri Evangeliorum IIII, De Laudibus, Triumphus Christi Heroicus, Genesis (ascribed to him.)
Arator: ³⁶	De Actibus Apostolorum.
Venantius Fortunatus: ³⁷	Poems in Migne's Patro- logia.
Aldhelm: ³⁸	Extant poems.

³¹Migne, *Patrologia*, XCIV, 624-626.

³²*Caelii Sedulii: Opera Omnia*.

³³*Monumenta Germ. Historica. Auct. antiquissimi. VI 2, p. 203ff.*

³⁴*Aurelii Prudentii Clementis quae extant Carmina*; ed. by Albertus Dressel. Leipzig, 1860.

³⁵*C. Vetii Aquilini Juvenci Libri Evangeliorum IIII*; ed. by C. Marold. Leipzig, 1886.

³⁶Migne *Patrol. LXVIII 81-246*.

³⁷Migne *Patrol. LXXXVIII, 132ff.*

³⁸*Sancti Aldhelmi: Opera quae extant*. Ed. by J. A. Giles. Oxford, 1844.

of Lactantius: ³⁹	De Ave Phoenixe.
Ennodius: ⁴⁰	Extant poems.
Bede: ⁴¹	De Die Judicii.
Paulinus: ⁴²	Extant poems.

D.

As for the Latin prose writings, it is obviously impossible to do more than make a few selections. To read all the Latin Christian prose with which the Anglo-Saxon authors might have been acquainted would be the labor of years. From this vast amount I have selected a few works, which may reasonably be supposed to have been influential in giving direction and form to Anglo-Saxon kennings, particularly to those of a religious nature. Such works probably were the following:

Gregory: Liber Sacramentorum,⁴³
Liber Antiphonarius,⁴³ Liber Responsalis.⁴³ Also his homilies, especially the 10th and 29th on the Gospels.

Augustine: Confessions⁴⁴ (because of the highly wrought poetical style.)

Acta Sanctorum: (Because they recount *inter alia* the lives of St. Guthlac,⁴⁵ St. Juliana,⁴⁶ St. Elene.⁴⁷.)

Acta Apostolorum Apo- (Because a version of the
crypha: Andreas story is found here.)

³⁹Text in *A.—S. Reader*: J. W. Bright. p. 189ff. N. Y. 1899.

⁴⁰*Magni Felicis Ennodii: Opera Omnia.* Vindobonae, 1882.

⁴¹*Be Domes Daegen*, (pp. 22ff) Ed. by J. R. Lumby. London, 1876.

⁴²*Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina.* Vindobonae, 1894.

⁴³*Migne Patrol.* LXXVIII.

⁴⁴*Sancti Aureli Augustini: Confessionum Libri Tredecim.* Ed. by Pius Knöll. Vindobonae, 1896.

⁴⁵*Acta Sanctorum, Apr. 11. Vol. II, 48ff.*

⁴⁶*ib. Feb. 16. Vol. II. 873ff.*

⁴⁷*ib. May 4, Vol. I. 445ff.*

It is to be noted, however, that in both the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, the style is generally simple and straightforward for the most part. Accordingly the number of Anglo-Saxon kennings that may be referred to these works as sources is comparatively small.

In regard to two other books presumably well known—the Natural History of Pliny and the Consolation of Boethius—neither one in my opinion furnishes models for kennings. This seems certainly true in regard to Pliny, whose style is exceedingly downright and matter-of-fact. Possibly a careful examination of all the poetical passages in Boethius might yield a few sources, but my tentative investigation indicated that the result would be too small to warrant a minute examination.

In the following Latin lists the symbol * indicates that the equivalent term occurs in A.S., and ° indicates that a term of similar import occurs in A.S., and that the Latin term was probably the source.

I. TERMS FOR THE DEITY.

A. *Terms from the Vulgate and the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.*

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. *scyppend*, *ordfruma*, *wyrhta*, *fruma*, et al., pp. 410 ff.

*Creator, Eccle. 12/1, Rom. 1/25, 1 Petr. 4/19; *dominus creator, Deut. 32/18; *creator omnipotens, Eccli. 1/8; *creator omnium, Eccle. 24/12, 2 Mac. 1/24; mundi creator, 2 Mac. 7/23, 13/14; creator aquarum, Judith 9/17.

*Auctor vitae, Acta 3/15; *auctor salutis, Heb. 2/10; auctor fidei, Heb. 12/2.

*Artifex et conditor, Heb. 11/10.

*Formator, Isa. 44/24.

Deus factor, Deut. 32/15; *factor, Job 4/17, Isa. 17/7; rex factor, Eccle. 2/12; *dominus factor, Isa. 51/13.

*Fabricator omnium, Eccle. 11/5; in ipso condita sunt universa in caelis et in terra, Col. 1/16; *principium creaturae, Apoc. 3/14

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. cyning, dryhten, wealdend, frea, agend, þeoden, hlaford et al., pp. 411 ff.

*Gloriosus rex, 2 Reg. 6/20; *rex, Ps. 5/3 and passim, often in N.T.; °rex omnis terrae, Ps. 46/8; rex dominus, Ps. 97/6; deus meus rex, Ps. 144/1; °dominus rex omnipotens, Esther 13/9; *rex gloriae, Ps. 23/7, 8, 9, 10; *rex regum, 2 Mac. 13/4, 1 Tim. 6/15, Apoc. 19/16; *rex sempiternus, Jer. 10/10; *dominus magnificus, terribilis, laudabilis, Ex. 15/11; *rector omnium et salvator, Esth. 15/5; *dominus (passim); *dominus exercitum, Isa. 44/6, 47/4; *dominus virtutum, Ps. 45/8, 11; *dominus deus (passim in O.T.); *dominus dominantium, 1 Tim. 6/15, Apoc. 19/16; dominus pater, Eccli. 23/1; *dominus gloriae, 1 Cor. 2/8; °dominator dominus deus, Ex. 34/6; *dominator hominum, 2 Reg. 23/3; *dominator virtutis, Sap. 12/18; *dominator vitae, Eccel. 23/1; *dominator dominus exercitum, Isa. 3/1, 33; *dominator dominus Isa. 10/16; 51/22; *dominus justus, sanctus, P.S. 144/17; dominus solus, altissimus, Ps. 82/18; dominus deus omnipotens, Apoc. 15/3; misericors dominus et justus, Ps. 115/5; justus dominus, Ps. 10/7; *dominus fortis et potens, Ps. 23/8; *dominator terrae, Isa. 16/1; *dominator caeli, Dan. 5/23; *dominator universae terrae, Zach. 4/14; *dominator vitae ac spiritus, 2 Mac. 14/46; *dominator caelorum, 2 Mac. 15/23; *solus dominator, Jud. 4; *dominus—decorem indutus est, Ps. 92/1; *dominus qui fecit caelum et terram, Ps. 120/1; *magnus dominus, Ps. 95/4; *dominus gloriae, 1 Cor. 2/8; *dominus omnium, Act. 10/36.

3. *God as Protector.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, helpend, geoçend, pp. 415 ff.

*caeli defensor, Judith 6/13.

*pastor animarum, 1 Petr. 2/25; *pastor, 1 Petr. 2/25; pastor unus, Ezech. 34/23; °bonus pastor, Joan. 10/14, 11; *pastor magnus, Heb. 13/20; °protector omnium sperantium in se, Ps. 17/31; *protector, Gen. 15/1, Ps. 17/3, 19, 31, often; *protector vitae, Ps. 26/1; *protector est omnibus, Eccli. 2/13; *susceptor, Ps. 45/8, 11; *adjutor meus, Ps. 18/5; °adjutor et protector, Ps. 113/9, 10, 11, 127/7, 34/18, et al.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, pp. 417 ff.

*Judex, Isa. 33/22; dominus judex, 1 Reg. 24/16, et al.; deus judex, Ps. 119/6, et al.; judex et testis, Jerem. 29/23; °justus judex deus, 2 Mac. 12/5; *justus judex, 2 Tim. 4/8; °judex omnium, Hebr. 12/23.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. hælend, nergend, pp. 417 ff.

*Salvator (passim); *deus salvator (passim); *dominus salvator, 1 Reg. 14/39, 4 Reg. 13/5, et al.; *salvator mundi, Gen. 41/45, Joan. 4/42; princeps et salvator, Acta 5/31; *salvator omnium hominum, 1 Tim. 4/10; Jesu Salvator, 2 Petr. 1/1, 11; 12/20; Jesu Christus Salvator, 2 Petr. 3/18, Tit. 1/4, 3/6; redemptor meus, Job 19/25, Ps. 18/15; redemptor eorum, Ps. 77/35; redemptor tuus, Isa. 41/14; *dominus redemptor, Isa. 43/14 (passim in Isa.); redemptor vitae meae, Thren. 3/58; princeps et redemptor, Acta 7/35.

*Servator animae tuae, Prov. 24/12.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lâreow, p. 417.

*Magister, Matt. 8/19, 9/11, 12/38 et al., (passim in gospels); °bonus magister, Matt. 19/16; *praeceptor, Lu. 5/5; 8/24, 45, 9/33, 49, 21/7; Jesu praeceptor, Lu. 17/13.

7. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. bearn, ancenned et al., pp. 419.

*Filius dei, (passim in N. T.); *filius hominis (passim in N. T.); filius David (passim in N. T.); *filius meus dilectus, Matt. 3/17, 17/5, et al.; *unigenitus, Heb. 11/17; °unigenitus a patre, Joan. 1/14; *unigenitus filius, Joan. 1/18, 3/16, 18,

1 Joan. 4/9; °filius altissimi, Lu. 1/32; *filius primogenitus, Matt. 1/25, Lu. 2/7; *primogenitus, Heb. 1/6; *primogenitus omnis creaturae, Colos. 1/15; *verus filius dei, Sap. 2/18.

8. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. gast, frofre gast et al., p. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, Matt. 3/11, (passim in gospels); °spiritus dei, Matt. 3/16 et al.; *paracletus, Joan. 14/16, 26, 15/26, 16/7, et al.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, p. 418.

*Pater (passim); *pater noster, Matt. 6/9; *pater celestis, Matt. 5/48; *pater qui es in celis, Matt. 6/9; pater luminum, Jac. 1/17; *pater misericordiarum, 2 Cor. 1/3.

10. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend, et al., pp. 419 ff.

*Claritatem dedi eis, Joan. 17/22; *gratiam et gloriam dabit dominus, Ps. 83/12; dominus virtutem populo suo dabit, Ps. 28/11; dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae, Ps. 67/36; humilibus dat gratiam, Jac. 4/6; dabo pacem in finibus vestris, Lev. 26/6; dans flatum populo, Isa. 42/5; °omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, desursum est descendens a patre luminum, Jac. 1/17; °inquirentes dominum non minuentur omni bono, Ps. 33/11.

11. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, se torhta, et al., p. 417 ff.

°Illuminatio mea, Ps. 26/1; lux mundi, Matt. 5/14; Joan. 8/12, 9/5, 7/9; *lux hominum, Joan. 1/4; *lux vera, Joan. 1/8; *splendor gloriae, Hebr. 1/3; °gloria virtutis, Ps. 88/18; *sol justitiae, Mal. 4/2.

12. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, p. 418.

°Ductor vester, Deut. 1/30; 31/8; °ductor tuus, Deut. 31/6; spiritus domini ductor, Isa. 63/14; princeps pastorum, 1 Petr. 5/4; princeps pacis, Isa. 9/6; princeps regum terrae, Apoc. 1/5; *dux, Matt. 2/6.

13. *Miscellaneous Titles.*

Cf. Miscellaneous list at end of A.S. collection, also god, meotod, pp. 420 ff.

Altissimus, Ps. 9/2, 83/19; *sanctus, Ps. 88/19; *deus caeli, Ps. 135/26, Dan. 2/18, 19, 37, 44; °deus justitiae, Ps. 4/1; *deus majestatis, Ps. 28/3, °dominus deus noster victor, Judic. 11/24; *miserator et misericors, Ps. 85/15; 102/8; 110/4, et al.; *deus vivens, Jerem, 10/10; *deus verus, Jerem. 10/10; *deus virtutum, Ps. 79/8, 15, 20; *deus omnipotens, Gen. 17/1; *deus misericors et clemens, Ex. 34/6; deus fidelis, Deut. 32/4; °deus justus, Deut. 32/4; °deus rectus, Deut. 32/4; *a seculo et in seculum deus, Ps. 89/2; *deus magnus, Ps. 85/10, Dan. 2/45; deus solus, Ps. 85/10; °deus lux est, 1 Joan. 1/5; *dominus deus, (passim); *lapis angularis, 1 Petr. 2/6; oriens ex alto, Lu. 1/78; desideratus cunctis gentibus, Ag. 2/7; *consilarius, Isa. 9/6; admirabilis, Isa. 9/6; *sapiens, Job. 9/4; justus, Acta 7/52; *agnus dei, Joan. 1/29; stella splendida et matutina, Apoc. 22/16; via, Joan. 14/6, Hebr. 10/18; veritas, Joan. 14/6; vita, Joan. 14/6; *initium et finis, Apoc. 21/6; *principium et finis, Apoc. 22/13; *crucifixus, 1 Cor. 1/23; *homo, 1 Tim. 2/5; °deus totius consolationis, 2 Cor. 1/3; °non derelinquet sanctos suos, Ps. 36/28; °custodit dominus animas sanctorum suorum, Ps. 96/10.

FROM THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

Terms for the Deity:

°Auctor luminis sempiterni, 392; *creator omnium creaturarum, 405.

*Rex gloriae, 397, and passim; *rex omnipotens, 405; *dominus fortis et potens, 398; dominus Jesu Christus filius dei, 392; *dominus omnipotens, 406; *dominus virtutum, 429.

°Redemptor mundi, 403.

*Filius dilectus, 393; *amantissimus dei filius, 394; filius dei ex alto veniens, 393.

*Lumen coaeternum, 392; lux patris, 392; ipse oriens, 393.

Pater aeternorum bonorum, 406; pater misericordiarum 406.

Miles, 399; *imperator, 399; praeliator, 399; °deus potens in humanitatu, 396; °deus fortis in imperio.

B.

FROM THE LATIN HYMNS.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. scyppend, ordfruma, wyrhta, fruma, et al., pp. 410 ff.

*Creator (passim); *deus creator omnium, S. H. 2, 83; *rerum creator omnium, S. H. 30; 51/28.

*Creator omnium, 50/58, 51/13, 51/264; °summus creator omnium, 50/101; *rerum creator, S. H. 11; 50/93, 50/128; °rerum summus creator, 50/183; °rerum creator optimus, S. H. 20; °creator optimus, 50/215; °summus creator, 50/521; °almus creator, 50/153; °lucis creator optimus, S. H. 13; 51/35; *creator spiritus, S. H. 92; °orbis creator, 50/123; °creator siderum, 51/71; °creator saeculi, 50/101; °mundi creator optimus, 51/103; creator atque conditor, 51/187; solus omni creator, 51/212; °sanctus spiritus creator, 51/143; ignis creator igneus, 51/296.

*Formator omnium, 51/284.

*Plasmator hominis, 51/38; S. H. 28; plasmator saeculi, 51/235.

Mundi constitutor, 51/12.

*Factor, 50/221, 223; *factor omnium, S. H. 81; 51/71; °noster factor, 51/304; °bonus factor, 51/302; °mundi factor, 51/130; *factor caeli, 51/264; 50/187; *omnipotens rerum factor, 50/93; factor temporum, S. H. 63.

*Auctor, S.H. 40; 50/221; 51/96; °beatus auctor, 51/109, 50/58; *omnipotens auctor, 50/175; °perennis auctor, 50/84; °aeternus auctor, 50/215; °auctor saeculi, 51/73; *auctor vitae, 51/196, 50/78; *auctor aetheris, 50/111, 51/11; *bonitatis auctor, 50/233; *auctor summae bonitatis, 51/213; *salutis auctor, 50/40; S.H. 39, 79; *lucis auctor, S.H. 152; 50/85, et al.; *auctor veri gaudii, 50/258; *auctor omnium,

S.H. 83; °altus auctor omnium, 51/302; beatus auctor saeculi, 50/58; S.H. 50; auctor orbis, 50/78, 79; *fulgentis auctor aetheris, 51/11; *auctor salutis unicus, S.H. 79; *humani generis auctor, 50/197; S.H. 116; deus auctor rexque redemptor, 50/208; *auctor summus angelorum, 50/187; *rector salvator et auctor 50/181.

*Conditor, S.H. 4; conditor almus, 50/114; 50/124; S.H. 34; conditor inclitus, 50/192; 50/220; benignus conditor, S.H. 62; *rerum conditor, 50/30; 51/9; *caelorum conditor, 51/41; *polorum conditor, 50/214; *caeli conditor, 50/8; °conditor pacis, 50/171; *aeternae lucis conditor, 51/10; °immensus caeli conditor, 51/35; S.H. 17; °telluris ingens conditor, 51/36; S.H. 19; siderae conditor aulae, 51/116; *regni caelestis conditor, 51/3, 14; conditor almus siderum, S.H. 34; bonus conditor et redemptor, 50/77; creator atque conditor, S.H. 112; °aeternus rerum conditor, S.H. 6; orbis conditor, 51/117; S.H. 163; aeternus orbis conditor, 51/244; *vitae conditor, 51/296.

Repertor orbis, 50/40.

*Omnium patrator, 51/109.

Propagator optimus, 51/117.

°Supernus artifex, S.H. 75.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. cyning, dryhten, wealdend, frea, agend, þeoden, hlaford, et al., pp. 411 ff.

*Rex, 51/73 and passim; *aeternus rex, 51/302; *pius rex, S.H. 8; 50/160; 50/213; *rex magnus, hymn quoted by Bede, 11, 30, 46; rex mysticus, S.H. 41; rex sacer, 50/78; *rex clemens, 50/160, 213; *rex hagijs, 51/3; rex primus, 51/12; *rex serenus, 50/42; *rex piissimus, 51/85; 132; *rex perennis, 51/155; *rex omnipotens, 51/271; *rex sempiternus, infinitus, 51/335; *rex laudabilis, B.H. 96; rex pacificus, Ant.—Cook's *Crist*, p. 100; *rex sidereus, 50/212; rex benedictus, 50/220; rex colendus, 51/172; *rex gloriae, B.H. 91; *rex gentium, 51/8; *rex virtutis atque gratiae, B.H. 92; rex et factor temporum, S.H. 63; rex deus, 50/62; rex deus immensus, 50/89; *rex caeli,

50/113; 51/316; rex deus maximus, 50/111; *rex angelorum, 50/128, 51/69, 289, 301, et al.; °rex caelestis gloriae, 50/6; *rex angelorum praepotens, 51/69; rex factor omnium, 51/71; *rex optimus, 51/71, 50/211; *rex regum, 51/106, 171, 191, 277, 312, et al.; *caelorum rex, 50/6; 51/108; *rex rectissimus, 51/277; *Christus rex, 51/264; rex sanctorum, 51/301; 50/242; *rex omnium regum, 51/289; *rex dulcium, 50/113; rex aeternus dominus, S.H. 30; *rex altissimus, S.H. 90; rex Christus bonus caelitus, S.H. 132; °rex saeculi, B.H. 60; *rex omnium, 50/234; *rex gloriosus, Q.B. 13.

*Dominus, 51/3; 50/115; S.H. 7, et al.; excelsus dominus, 51/20; *aeternus dominus, 51/273; *sanctus dominus, S.H. 13, 51/109; *dulcis dominus, 50/136; *verax dominus, 50/232; trinus et unus dominus, 51/68; °verus et magnus Jesu Christus dominus, 51/108; S.H. 12; *Jesus dominus, 51/7, et al.; dominus deus omnipotens, 51/8; *dominus gentium, 51/8; *caeli dominus, 51/12; *dominus polorum, S.H. 70; *virtutum dominus, S.H. 42; 50/157; *caeli dominus terraeque, 50/213; dominus tonans, 51/69; rex aeternus dominus, S.H. 30; *dominus potens et fortis, B.H. 86; *ipse caelorum dominus, S.H. 60; *saeculorum dominus, S.H. 124; *dominus dilectus, 50/232; *dominus omnipotens, 50/247; *angelorum dominus, S.H. 81.

*Sator, 50/216, 223; *sanctus sator, 51/299; *sator lucis, 51/8, 50/37; sator temporum, 51/19; *sator rerum, 51/106; °sator regum, 51/110; sator summus saeculorum, 51/302; pius mundi sator et redemptor, 50/121, 171, S.H. 104; °regum sator inclitus, 50/259.

*Rector, 51/28, S.H. 20; 51/312; 50/223, et al.; *sanctus rector, 50/230; *rector almus, 51/154; *rector potens, S.H. 10; *rector sanctissimus, 50/239; *rector invictissimus, 50/259; rector immensus lucis, 51/12; *rector orbis, 51/155; rector aeterni saeculi, 51/213; *rector regiminis, 51/315; rector salvator et auctor, 50/181; *poli rector, S.H. 2; deus magnus rector, S.H. 72; *mundi sanctissimus rector, 50/182; trinus

unus rector, 51/107; *rector humanis generis, 50/197; *rerum maximus rector, 50/217.

*Dominator omnium, 51/41; °dominator maximus, 51/293; *dominator orbis, 50/234; *regnorum dominator, 50/169; *cunctorum dominator, S.H. 141.

*Caeli regnator, 50/175.

°Moderator temporum, 51/223; *vitae moderator, 50/156.

Mortis perdomitor, 50/40.

Altus prosator, 51/275.

*Imperator omnium, 50/231.

Gubernator, 50/223.

3. *God as Protector, Helper.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, helpend, geocend, et al., pp. 415 ff.

*Protector omnipotens, 50/146.

*Defensor, 50/223; °defensor noster, S.H. 13.

*Custos animae, 51/109; *custos sanctorum, 51/299.

*Pastor, 50/223; 51/264; S.H. 42; *pastor benignus, 50/130; *mitissimus pastor, 50/157; °pastor amandus, 50/220; °almus pastor, 50/231; *pastor omnium, 50/58, S.H. 51.

*Suffragator, 51/299.

*Adjutor, 50/223.

*Recreator, 50/221.

*Animator, 50/221.

*Altor, 50/233; °Christus altor omnium, S.H. 65.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, rhytend, p. 417.

*Judex, 51/12; S.H. 32, et al.; °magnus judex, Q.B. 22; *maximus judex, 50/260; *aeternus judex, S.H. 119; *judex omnium, S.H. 88; *judex saeculi, S.H. 35; judex judicium, 51/284; judex mortuorum, 51/80; justus judex cordium, 51/29; venturus diei judex, 51/12; judex cordium, S.H. 23.

°Arbiter omnipotens, 50/94; arbiter omnitenens, 50/183; tremendus arbiter, 50/65; *supernus arbiter, 51/73, 109; pius arbiter, 51/109; *justus arbiter, I.B. 24; *arbiter altithronus, 51/212; clemens arbiter, 51/109.

*Aetherei censor mitissimus regni, 50/214.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. haelend, nergend, p: 417.

*Salvator, 51/8, 17, 272, et al.; salvator unicus, 51/51;
*mundi salvator, 51/295, 50/128; °mundi salvator maximus,
51/12; *salvator omnium, 51/298; *salvator hominis, 50/154;
rector salvator et auctor, 50/181.

°Reparator aevi, 51/106; *orbis reparator, 50/209; *repara-
tor, 50/221, 223.

Necis peremptor, 50/223.

*Redemptor, 50/110, 136, 148, 160; 51/30, 295, et al; re-
demptor credentium, 51/71; °redemptor gentium, 51/73, 285;
50/13 et al; *redemptor omnium, 51/85; S.H. 34, 39, 48;
*redemptor orbis, 51/90, 50/85, 130; °redemptor saeculi,
51/107; °factor et redemptor, 51/304; bonus conditor et re-
demptor, 50/77; pius mundi sator et redemptor, 50/121, 171;
°auctor et redemptor, 50/208; *redemptor mundi, 50/148;
S.H. 79; °Christus redemptor omnium, S.H. 34, 39; sator et
redemptor, S.H. 104; sponsus redemptor conditor, S.H. 112;
°redemptor plebium, 50/190.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lareow, p. 417.

°Bonus magister, 50/113; *tutor, 50/223; *magister, S.H.
72; *doctor, 50/223.

7. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, se torhta et al., pp. 418 ff.

°Lux, 51/38; 50/143; °vera lux, 51/271, 62; 50/31;
*vera lux fidelium, 51/13; vera lux et suavitas, 51/105; °lux
angelorum, 50/92; °aeterna lux credentium, S.H. 34; *aeterna
lux, 50/231; *lux aeternae gloriae, 50/209; *lux ipsa lucis,
51/28; S.H. 18; °nata lux de lumine, 51/107; lux et origo
lucis, 50/155; *lux lucis et fons luminis, S.H. 15; deus et lux,
50/153; lux et dies, S.H. 12; °lux pura, 50/213; lux tene-
brarum, 50/220; °lux pia vitae, 50/220; pia lux saeculi,
50/225.

Lumen unum, 50/44, 51/102; *lumen aeternum, 51/223, 271; *lucis lumen, 51/8, S.H. 12; *caeli lumen, 51/8; *lumen de lumine, 51/127; *lumen gentium, 50/134; lumen aeternum patris, 50/222; altum lumen, 50/107; jubar sancti spiritus, 50/11.

°Candor inenarrabilis, 51/12.

*Splendor, 50/224; *splendor lucis, 50/143; . splendor patris, 50/207; S.H. 39; °splendor paternae gloriae, S.H. 15; *splendor gloriae, S.H. 135; *splendor lucis aeternae, Ant, Cook, *Crist* 88.

Paterna claritas, S.H. 5.

°Decus angelorum, 51/106; decus mundi, 50/124; *aeternae decus gloriae, 50/5; °sanctorum decus angelorum, 50/197; S.H. 116; decus patris, 50/5.

°Gloria sanctorum, 51/289; °perennis gloria, 50/92; mundi gloria, 50/136; *aeterni caeli gloria, S.H. 27; *trinitatis gloria, 51/7; paternae lucis gloria, 51/9.

°Sol, 51/104; *sol verus, 50/235; *sol justitiae, S.H. 155, et al.

Lucifer, 51/8, S.H. 67; lucifer exoriens, 50/124.

Lucis nuntius, 51/9.

*Oriens, Ant, Cook *Crist*, p. 88.

*Aurora, S.H. 16, 30.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, wuldes ealdor et al., pp. 418.

*Ductor, 50/223.

Dux bonus, 50/30; dux pacis, Q.B. 76.

*Princeps, 50/230; S.H. 38; princeps pacis, 50/232; *gloriae princeps, 50/234; princeps regum, 51/303; *polorum princeps, 50/215; princeps temporum, 51/19.

*Praesul, S.H. 11.

*Ducator, 50/223.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, ece fæder, fæder ælmihtig, et al., p. 418 ff.

*Pater, 51/2, 27; 50/4 et al; *verus pater, 51/13; *sanctus pater, 51/155; 50/203, et al; deus pater, 50/146; S.H. 1, 51;

*almus pater, 50/156; *summus pater, 50/175; innascibilis pater, 50/5; pater ingenitus, 51/3, 13 285; pater piissimus, 51/27, 28, S.H. 5 (passim); *pater perennis, 51/96; pater optimus, 50/38; *pater supremus, 50/44; pater inclitus, 50/269; pater credentium, 51/284; °pater rerum, 51/291; *pater perennis gloriae, 51/293; S.H. 15; *pater omnipotens, 51/303; S.H. 12.

*Genitor, 51/68; *genitor omnipotens, 50/48, 181, 183.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. bearn, ancenned, sunu (and combinations containing bearn) et al., p. 419.

*Unigenitus filius, 51/12; filius David, 51/13; °solus filius, 51/38, 187; 50/128; S.H. 1; °filius verus, 51/171, 304; summus filius unicus unigenitus, 51/285; *coaeternus filius, 50/147; *semper cum patre filius, S.H. 30; *coaevus et coaequalis filius, 51/109; *consempiternus filius, Q.B. 112; °deus rexque filius, 51/17; *dei filius, 51/108, 298; S.H. 133, et al; *dilectus filius, 50/147; °aeterni patris filius, S.H. 109; *aeterni regis filius, S.H. 152; Jesu Christus filius, S.H. 145; *filius, 50/5.

°Genitoris natus, 51/62; *natus inclitus, 51/155; natus, 50/4; °natus deusque, 50/111; *unicus natus, S.H. 73; *dei unicus natus, 51/302.

*Unigenitus, 51/3, 41, 68, 275; 50/134; patris unigenitus, 51/108; dei patris unigenitus, 51/302; a patre unigenitus, S.H. 53.

*Primogenitus, 51/271, 303.

*Regia proles, 51/146; *inclita proles, 50/160; virginis proles, S.H. 139; genitus proles, S.H. 139.

*Genitus, S.H. 93.

Veneranda dei suboles, 50/224.

*Progenies dei. 50/5.

*Progenitus dei, 50/5.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, halig gast, et al., p. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, 51/3, S.H. 12; *spiritus paraclitus, 51/40, 68, (passim); verus spiritus, 51/304; *spiritus almus, 50/156.
°Pneuma, S.H. 48.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend et al., p. 419 ff.

°Largitor veniae, 51/72; *vitae perennis largitor, 51/298; *largitor omnium bonorum, 50/41; *lucis largitor splendidus, 51/9; *largitor premii, S.H. 67.

*Perpetis vitae dator, 51/172; *dator salutis, 51/296, 298; *largus dator, 51/299, 302; *dator luminis, 51/296; °remunerator, S.H. 33.

13. *God as Source.*

Cf. A.S. fruma, brytta, et al., p. 411 and 419.

°Fons lucis, 50/231; fons veritatis, 50/231; *fons vitae, 51/104; °fons omnium, 50/25; fons pietatis, 50/135; °fons, 50/143; °fons luminis, 50/155, S.H. 15; °origo, S.H. 13, 50/143.

14. *God as Victor.*

Cf. A.S. sigedryhten, sigora frea, et al., p. 412 ff.

*Victor, 51/96; 50/7, 223; S.H. 66, 83, 84, 85; °victor resplendens, 51/72.

*Triumphator, 50/223.

*Superator, 50/223.

15. *Deus phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod,—also frea, þeoden, dryhten, pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

*Dominus deus, (passim); *dominus deus omnipotens, 51/8; °deus creator omnium, S.H. 2, 83; *verax deus, S.H. 10; *deus altissimus, 51/285, 289; S.H. 92; deus simplex, 50/121, S.H. 105; *deus aeternus, 50/182; S.H. 145; 50/5; *deus optimus, 50/45; *deus maximus, 50/111; *deus vivus, 50/157; *deus verus, 50/5, 232; deus tonans, 51/108; *deus altus, 50/99, 51/284; *deus amabilis, 51/284; *deus altithronus, 50/183; *caelestis deus, 50/211; °de exselsis deus, 51/13; *caelorum deus, 51/303; °deus caeli dominusque terrae, 50/206; *caeli deus sanctissimus, 51/36; S.H. 23; *deus aeterni luminis, 51/12, 284; rerum deus, S.H. 11; *magnae deus poten-

tiae, 51/37; S.H. 25; *summus deus clementiae, 51/30; S.H. 29; deus perenne gaudium, 50/62; rex deus immensus, 50/89; deus deorum dominus, 51/335; deus unigenitus, 50/5; *deus auctor, 50/208; *deus angelorum, 51/171; deus pater, 50/146; S.H. 51; deus alti agminis, 51/315; *deus victoriae, 51/293; deus factus homo, 50/190; incorruptibilis deus, 50/5.

16. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. miscellaneous list in A.S. collection, p. 421.

Salus, 50/171; °salus mundi, 51/106; °salus viventium, 51/285; salus certantium, 51/227; salus perennis, 50/136.

°Spes, 50/171; beata spes, S.H. 27; °spes perennis omnium, S.H. 39; ardua spes mundi, 50/237; °una spes mortalium, 51/80; °unica spes omnium, 50/148.

Vita, 51/106; vita sanctorum, angelorum, 51/90; 50/171; vita viventium, 51/284.

*Virtus, 51/106; vivida virtus, 50/213.

Bonitas et vita, 51/62; infinita bonitas, 50/135.

Verbum patris, 50/42; verbum patris aeterni, 51/12.

Via, 51/106, 50/171.

Vera sapientia, 51/108.

Victoria credentium, 51/192.

Fides credentium, 51/285.

*Vis una, 50/44.

*Alma potestas, 50/78.

Pax perennis, 50/92.

°Dulce desiderium, 50/136.

Dives, 51/71.

Una deitas, 51/102.

°Vitae laeta exordia, 50/7.

Dies dierum aius, 51/8.

Sabaoth omnipotens, 51/12.

*Lapis angularis, 51/264, Ant. Cook *Crist*, 73.

*Principium et finis, 51/212.

*Agnus, S.H. 37; *agnus dei, 51/108; caelestis agnus, S.H. 51; *agnus immaculatus, 51/13.

Corona celsior, 51/132; corona martyrum, 51/192.

- Columba, 51/264; columba potens, 50/39.
 Flamma, 51/264.
 Janua, 51/264.
 Venerandus pontifex, 51/211; sanctus deus pontifex, 51/223.
 Sponsus, 51/264.
 *Inclitus, 50/216.
 *Consolator, 51/303.
 *Advocatus, 51/303.
 Crucifer, 50/37.
 °Altithronus, 50/116.
 *Unus potens, S.H. 3.
 Solus ante principium, S.H. 39.
 Legum lator, 51/299; 302; legis lator, 51/108.
 Cultor caeli carminis, 51/315.
 Postulator sublimus, 51/347.
 Socius cum patre coaevus, 50/77.
 °Compar unicus patri, 51/28, S.H. 5.
 Consors paterni luminis, 51/28.
 *Sanctus, 51/27.
 *Altissimus, 50/147, 51/288; altissimus virtutum; illuminans altissimus, 50/15.
 °Piissimus, 50/114, 132, 51/35.
 *Omnipotens, 50/124, S.H. 57.
 °Omniparens, 50/39.
 *Cunctipotens, S.H. 8.
 °Tonans, S.H. 27.
 *Caelorum habitator, S.H. 143.
 *Trinitas, S.H. 1; *beata trinitas, 51/38, 51; °sancta trinitas, 51/102, 50/102; sacrosancta trinitas, 51/101; alma deus trinitas, 50/98; *beata et benedicta et gloriosa trinitas, Ant. Cook, Crist. 108; *majestas trina, 50/253.
 Indivisa unitas, 51/51; trinitas unitas, S.H. 26; trinitatis unitas, 51/29; principalis unitas, S.H. 1.

C.

FROM OTHER CHRISTIAN LATIN POETRY

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. *scyppend*, *ordfruma*, *wyrhta*, *fruma*, pp. 410 ff.

**Conditor*, Ald. 271; *bonus conditor*, Ven. Fort. Migne. 88/132, Prud.-Ham. 346; *conditor aevi*, Ald. 99; *orbis conditor*, Sed.-Car. Pas. I 61; °*conditor sanguinis humani*, Sed.-Car. Pas. IV 254.

**Lucis creator*, Paul. 11; **hominum creator*, Paul. 16; °*rerum aeternus creator*, Paul. 16; **rerum creator*, Arat.-Migne. 68/83; °*venerandus creator*, Juv.-Triumph. 56.

°*Mundi auctor*, Ald. 135; **auctor*, Avit.; **auctor vitae*, Juv. III 503; **lucis auctor*, Sed.-Car. Pas. V. 151.

**Factor*, Prud.-Cath. X 130; *aquae factor*, Prud.-Ap. 667; *orbis factor*, Prud.-Peris. II, 415.

**Opifex*, Prud.-Cath. III, 73; **opifex hominum*, Arat.-Migne, 68/110.

**Repertor caeli terraeque*, Juv. I, 35; **lucis vitaeque repertor*, Juv. II, 405, IV, 479.

**Caeli fabricator*, Sed.-Car. Pas. 61.

Faber astrorum, Juv.-Triumph. 1.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. *cynning*, *dryhten*, *wealdend*, *frea*, *agend*, *þeoden*, *hlaford*, pp. 411 ff.

**Rex*, De Die Judic. 58, Sed.-Car. Pas. II. 108; **rex Christus*, Ald. 121; **rex summus*, Paul. 356; **rex regum*, Ald. 136; **rex gentium*, Prud.-Cath. XII. 41; **rex caeli*, Juv.-Triumph. 7; **rex viventium*, Prud.-Cath. IX. 106.

**Rector regnorum*, Ald. 271; **potens rector*, Paul. 357; *rector Olympi*, Arat.-Migne. 68/91.

**Summus sator*, Ald. 111; °*sator aeternae vitae*, Juv. III, 161; *primus sator credentium*, Prud.-Cath. XII. 47.

**Mundi dominus*, Paul. II, Sed.-Car. Pas. III, 196; **omni-tenens dominus*, Ald. 135; **dominus*, Juv. (passim); **dominus lucis*, Juv. IV. 655, 811; *dominus de lumine lumen*, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 313.

*Regnator mundi, Ald. 135, Juv. II. 265.

*Rerum dominator, Sed.-Car. Pas. V. 209.

3. *God as Protector.*

Cf. A.S. hyrde, weard, et al., p. 415 f.

*Pastor, Ald. 135; °fidus pastor, Prud.-Cath. VIII. 49.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, ryhtend, p. 417.

*Judex, De Die Judic. (passim); judex mortuorum, Prud.-Cath. IX. 106.

°Arbiter omnipotens, Ald. 120; *arbiter altithronus, Ald. 135; *arbiter, Ald. 248.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. hælend, nergend, p. 417.

Bonus redemptor, Ven. Fort.-Migne, 88/132; *redemptor orbis, Paul. 356, Prud.-Cath. IX 21; sanctus redemptor, Juv.-Triumph. 40.

*Salvator, Ald., Juv., Sed. (passim); Christus Salvator, Ald. 123.

*Saeculi servator, Juv. II. 327.

Salutifer, Juv. IV. 365.

6. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, leohtes leoht, wuldor, þrym, et al, p. 417 f.

*Lux nostra, Sed.-Car. Pas. III. 196; lux Bethlem, Prud.-Cath. VII. 1.

*Lucis lumen, Paul. 350; *de lumine lumen, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 313, Prud.-Ap. 278; *hominum lumen salusque, Juv. III. 356; *lumen, Juv. II. 75, 733.

*Regis decus, Avit.

°Gloria mundi, Avit; °aeternae gloria vitae, Juv. III. 530; °terrarum gloria, Juv. II 134.

Splendor patris, Prud.-Peri. II. 414.

7. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lareow, p. 417.

*Praeceptor, Juv. III. 501; *doctor, Juv. III. 399; indulgentissimus doctor, Prud.-Psych. 888.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, p. 418.

*Princeps, Ald. 207, Prud.-Cath. XII. 205; *princeps populorum, Ald. 136; optimus ductor, Prud.-Cath. X. 165; dux bonus, Prud.-Cath. V. 1.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, ece fæder, fæder ælmihtig, et al., p. 418 f.

Omnipater, Prud.-Peri. III. 70; *pater altithronus, Ald. 118; Juv. II. 62. *pater omnipotens, Ald. 136, Ennod. 563; *summus pater rerum, Paul. 7; pater ingenuus, Paul. 356; *primus pater, Avit; *pater aeternus, Juv. III. 203; pater regnans, Juv. II. 552; *pater rerum, Juv. I. 16; *pater sublimus, Juv. III. 463; *pater supremus, Juv. I. 173; *summus pater, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 319-320.

*Omnipotens genitor, Ald. 136, 510; *rerum genitor, Ald. 272; °omnipotens genitor rerum, Paul. 3; *genitor clarus, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 317; °genitor lumenque et gloria semper, Sed.-Ap. 286.

°Vitae lucisque parens, Juv. I. 747; °parens astrorum, Juv. I. 118; °parens perfectus, Juv. I. 572; °omniparens, Prud.-Cath. III. 2; Sym. II. 447.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. ancenned, bearn and combinations, pp. 419.

Filius patris non adoptivus, Prud.-Hom. 48; *filius hominis, Prud. Hom. 970; *filius altithroni, Ald. 119.

°Proles veneranda tonantis, Juv. IV. 785.

*Incorrupta dei soboles, Juv. de Laud. 37.

*Unica progenies, Ven. Fort.-Migne 88/132.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, et al., p. 419.

*Spiritus almus, Ald. 148; Arat.-Migne, 68/115 (passim); spiritus sempiternus, Prud.-Cath. IV 114; *spiritus benignus, Prud.-Cath. VI. 3.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend, and combinations, p. 419 ff.

*Largitor deus omnium, Prud.-Cath. IV. 74; °largitor perennis, Prud.-Contra Sym. II. 114; largitor dierum, Prud.-Ap. 701.

*Dator vitae, Prud.-Psych. 624; °dator escae, Prud.-Psych. 624; *dator animae, Prud.-Ham. 931; °dator luminis, Prud.-Peri. V. 276.

13. *Deus Phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod, dryhten, þeoden, frea, et al., pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

*Deus omnipotens, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 60; °summus deus, Prud.-Cath. IV. 78; *deus perennis, Prud.-Cath. VI. 7; deus igneus, Prud.-Cath. X. 1; *deus genitor, Prud.-Ap. 268; °lucis deus, Prud.-Ap. 282; deus ex patre verus, Prud.-Ap. 366; deus cunctiparens, Prud.-Ham. 931; deus cunctipollens, Prud.-Preface Ham. 19; deus ingenitus, Ald. 108; *sanctus deus, Paul. 350; *deus aetherius, De Die Judic. 145.

14. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. A.S. miscellaneous list, pp. 421.

Caeli terraeque salus, Juv. I. 194; °salus populi, Paul. 356.

°Vitae spes unica, Juv. III. 521.

Crucifixus victor, Paul. 350; rediturus victor, Arat.-Migne 68/90; leti victor, Juv. II. 405 et al; erebi victor, Juv.-Triumph. 55.

Christus potens rerum, Ald. 99; *omnipotens, Ald., Arat., Juv. (passim); *caelipotens, Prud.-Ap. 660; celsithronus, De Die Judic. 48; °tonans, Ald. 119, et al; expiator criminum, Paul. 350; *mediator, Arat.-Migne, 68/97; concordia rerum, Paul. 350; verbigena, Prud.-Cath. III. 2; secundus et novus homo, Prud.-Cath. III. 137; petra stabilis, Prud.-Cath. V. 11; patris sermo, Prud.-Cath. VI. 3; verbum patris, Prud.-Cath. VII. 1; veritas, Prud.-Cath. VII. 55; beatus ortus, Prud.-Cath. IX. 19; herus, Prud.-Ap. 40, 160; *lapis angularis, Prud.-Psych. 837; *miserator, Juv. II. 293; legum completor, Juv. II. 568; destructor scelerum, Juv.-Triumph. 56; *inclitus, Ven. Fort.-Migne 88/365; *clarus, Juv. II. 128, et al.; mentis perspector, Juv. II. 274.

D.

FROM THE LATIN PROSE.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. *scyppend*, *ordfruma*, *whyrrhta*, *fruma*, pp. 410 f.

*Creator omnium, Lib. Sac.; Aug.-Conf. 38; *mundi creator et rector, Lib. Sac.; *creator noster, Lib. Ant.; *creator angelorum, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; creator omnium saeculorum, Acta Sanct. 16 Feb.; *creator rerum omnium naturalium, Aug.-Conf. 14; *creator universae creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 349; unus et verus creator, Aug.-Conf. 58; creator mirificus, Aug.-Conf. 270; *omnis creaturae creator, Aug.-Conf. 290; °omnicreans, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Auctor pacis, Lib. Sac.; °nostrorum auctor munerum, Lib. Sac.; *nostrae salutis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *lucis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *virtutis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *auctor naturae, Aug.-Conf. 56; omnium saeculorum auctor et creator, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Conditor mundi, Lib. Sac.; *humani generis conditor et redemptor, Lib. Sac.; °orbis conditor, Lib. Ant.; Jesus conditor, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; *conditor et rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 28, 58; °conditor universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 309; *conditor animarum et corporum, Aug.-Conf. 309.

Fabricator mundi, Lib. Ant.

*Caeli et terrae artifex, Aug.-Conf. 290.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. *cyning*, *dryhten*, *wealdend*, *frea*, *agend*, *þeoden*, *hlaford*, pp. 411 ff.

Imperii rex, Lib. Sac.; rex dominus, Lib. Res.; *rex regum, Lib. Res.; *caelorum rex, Lib. Res.; *rex, Aug.-Conf. 22, 177.

*Dominus sanctus, Lib. Sac.; Christus dominus noster, Lib. Sac.; *dominus deus virtutum, Lib. Res.; *dominator dominus, Lib. Res. (passim); *dominus angelorum, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; dominus deus omnipotens, Acta. Sanct. 16 Feb.; *dominus omnium, Aug.-Conf. 7; *dominus caeli et terrae, Aug.-Conf. 8, 106; *dominus Jesus, Aug.-Conf. 16; *dominus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 93.

*Rector, Lib. Sac.; *mundi rector, Lib. Sac.; *populi rector, Lib. Sac.; *rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 28; unus et verus rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 58.

*Dominator, Lib. Res.; *dominator dominus, Lib. Res.

*Regnator, Aug.-Conf. 325; *regnator creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 297; *regnator universae creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 57.

*Ordinator rerum omnium, Aug.-Conf. 270; *ordinator rerum omnium naturalium, Aug.-Conf. 14.

*humani generis gubernator, Acta. Sanct. 16 Feb.

3. *God as Protector, Helper.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, gehyld, helpend, geocend, pp. 415 ff.

*Custos, Lib. Sac., Aug.-Conf. 15; *protector, Lib. Sac.; *adjutor meus, Aug.-Conf. 152; *adjutor et redemptor, Aug.-Conf. 166; via ipse salvator, Aug.-Conf. 169.

*Redemptor animarum, Lib. Sac.; *humani generis redemptor, Lib. Sac.; °redemptor noster, Greg. Hom. in Evang.

*Conservator humani generis, Lib. Sac.

4. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, et al., pp. 417 f.

°Lux vera, Lib. Sac.; lux incommutabilis, Aug.-Conf. 157; *lux permanens, Aug.-Conf. 276; lux caecorum, Aug.-Conf. 282; lux mentium, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Lumen verum, Lib. Sac.

*Splendor, Lib. Sac.; *fidelium splendor animarum, Lib. Sac.

*Illuminator, Lib. Sac.; °illuminator omnium gentium, Lib. Sac.; *inluminatio, Aug.-Conf. 252; *inlustrator, Aug.-Conf. 318, 325.

°Decus meum, Aug.-Conf. 266.

5. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, pp. 418.

*Dux, Lib. Sac.; *princeps, Lib. Sac.

6. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, and combinations, pp. 418 f.

*pater omnipotens, Lib. Sac.; *elementissimus pater, Lib. Sac.; *aeternus pater, Lib. Sac.

7. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. ancenned, sunu, and bearn, combinations, pp. 419.

*Unigenitus filius, Lib. Sac.; *unigenitus, Aug.-Conf. 92, 202; *unigenitus filius coaeternus, Aug.-Conf. 155; filius hominis, Aug.-Conf. 283, Greg.-Dial. II g; *filius meus dilectus, Blick. Hom. 27.

8. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, and other combinations, pp. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, Aug.-Conf. 94; spiritus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 203 .

*Paracletus consolator, Aug.-Conf. 50; °consolator fidelium, Aug.-Conf. 94.

9. *God as Source.*

Cf. A.S. fruma, brytta, and other combinations, pp. 410 ff. and 419.

*Fons lucis, Lib. Sac.; °origo bonitatis, Lib. Sac.; *fons vitae, Aug.-Conf. 58.

10. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend and combinations, pp. 419 f.

°Largitor immortalitatis, Lib. Sac.; *largitor aeternae salutis, Lib. Sac.

*Honorum dator, Lib. Sac.; dator gratiae spiritualis, Lib. Sac.; bonarum virtutum dator, Lib. Sac.; *vitae dator, Acta Sanct. 16 Feb.; *ordinum distributor, Lib. Sac.; *omnium dignitatum distributor, Lib. Sac.

11. *Deus Phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod, frea, dryhten, þeoden, et al., pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

Aeternus deus, Lib. Sac.; *deus vivus et verus, Lib. Sac.; *omnipotens deus, Lib. Sac., Aug.-Conf. 54; *misericors deus, Lib. Sac.; °deus—coelestia dominans, Lib. Sac.; °creator omnipotens deus, Lib. Sac.; deus vita mea, Aug.-Conf. 18; incorruptus deus, Aug.-Conf. 93; *deus vivus, Aug.-Conf. 355; °dominus deus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 93; *deus homo, Greg. Hom. in Evang. 29.

12. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. miscellaneous list in A.S. collection, pp. 421.

*Majestas, Lib. Sac.; *mediator, Lib. Sac.; dispositor, Lib. Sac.; *magnificus triumphator, Lib. Sac.; *altissimus, Aug.-Conf. 10; pulcherimus omnium, Aug.-Conf. 38; °summum bonum, Aug.-Conf. 38; °summum et verum bonum, Aug.-Conf. 325; vita animarum, Aug.-Conf. 52; vita vitarum, Aug.-Conf. 52; vita vitae meae, Aug. Conf. 141; ipsa vita nostra, Aug.-Conf. 79; °spes mea, Aug.-Conf. 72; bonus omnipotens, Aug.-Conf. 61; °mediator dei et hominum, Aug.-Conf. 163, 278; °verax mediator, Aug.-Conf. 278; laus, vita, deus cordis mei, Aug.-Conf. 224; medicus meus intimus, Aug.-Conf. 228; *omnipotens, Aug.-Conf. 230; veritas, Aug.-Conf. 252, 275, 301; salus faciei meae, Aug.-Conf. 252; victor et victima, Aug.-Conf. 278, *principium, Aug.-Conf. 288; *omnitenens, Aug.-Conf. 290; *principium et finis, Aelf. Lives of Sts. 217; *consiliarius, Homs. and Sts. Lives, 111.

THE USE OF THE LATIN PHRASES.

It is not surprising and there is considerable evidence to prove that the Anglo-Saxon poets in taking over Latin kennings, especially those for the Deity, did not in every case make an exact and literal translation of the Latin phrase, but that they sometimes varied the original terms.

For such variation, the chief causes lay in the demands of alliteration and metre in Anglo-Saxon verse. For example, instead *dryhten* in the common phrase *weoroda dryhten* (dominus exercitum), an author might need a word beginning with *sc* and so substitute *scyppend*, making a new phrase *weoroda scyppend*, or he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend* or *wuldorcyning*, producing the new phrases *weoroda wealdend* and *weoroda wuldorcyning*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *engla dryhten* (dominus angelorum) he might need a word beginning with *b* and substitute *brego*, or a word beginning with *w* and substitute *weard* if he desired one syllable or *wealdend* if he desired two; or, instead of *cyning* in the phrase *wuldres cyning* (rex glorie) he might need a word beginning with a vowel and substitute *agend*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the

phrase *ece dryhten*, he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend*.¹

All these phrases just cited actually occur in the poetry, and seem to present instances of substitution. Inasmuch as I do not pretend, however, to have discovered and collected every Latin term which the Anglo-Saxon poets could have known, it may be that some of the phrases which I have mentioned are exact translations of Latin terms that I have not found. But there can be little doubt that variations were made in this way.

The Latin phrases were doubtless sometimes varied by addition as well as by substitution. In some cases, we may regard the variation as due to either one of these causes. For example, in *weoroda wuldorcyning*, cited above, we may regard *wuldorcyning* as a substitution for *dryhten*, or we may regard *weoroda* as an alliterative word prefixed to *wuldorcyning* (*rex glorie*) to fill out the half line. We have the same choice in *weoroda wilgifa* and other phrases.

In some cases it is fairly evident that the word is added to secure alliteration. For example in

heahengla cyning ofer hrofas up (Cri. 528 and

heofonengla cyning halig scineþ (Cri. 1010)

heahengla cyning and *heofonengla cyning* are probably nothing more than variations of the formula *engla cyning* (*rex angelorum*)—variations due to the exigencies of alliteration and metre. This same cause, in my opinion, accounts for the rather frequent use of *sige*, *sigora* (*es*), *maegen*, and *þeod* as prefixes in phrases where they apparently have little force except as intensives. (Cf. *sigebeorn*, Cri. 520; *sigebeorht*, Cri. 10; *maegencraeft*, Cri. 1279; *þeodbealu*, Cri. 1267).²

It is likely also that variations of Latin terms were sometimes produced by analogy. For example, *sopcyning* seems to be modelled on *verus deus*, *verax dominus*, *verus pater*, *vera lux*, et al., though there may well have been a *verus rex* which I have not noted.

¹Cf., for example, Dan. 332, *weroda waldend*, *woruldgesceafta* with its equivalent Az. 48, *wuldres waldend* and *woruldsceafta*.

²Cf. Dan. 333, *sigora settend*, *sopfaest metod* with its equivalent Az. 47, *sigerof settend* and *sop meotod*.

In connection with this subject of the use of Latin phrases by the Anglo-Saxon poets, it is interesting to examine a good translation of a Latin poem in comparison with its original—not a literal word for word rendering such as we have in the interlinear prose translations in the Psalters and the Surtees Hymns, but one in which concessions are made to the demands of alliteration, metre, and technique in general of Anglo-Saxon verse. A good example is the poem entitled *Vom Jüngsten Tage* (Grein-Wülker), which is an excellent translation of Bede's *De Die Judicii*.³ The following examples illustrate the treatment of the Latin phrases:

- L. 36, omnipotens, *aelmih̃tig*,
 45, deus aetherius, *heofones god*,
 48, celsithronus, *heahprymme cyninge*,
 58, regem, þone maeran metod and þone maeran kyn-
 ing,
 59, ille sedens solio fulget sublimis in alto, *Sitt þonne*
 sigelbeorht swegles brytta on heahsetle,
 138, deus, *ece dryhten*,
 142, praemia perpetuis tradens coelestia donis
 angelicas inter turmas sanctasque cohortes,
 Sigores brytta
 sylþ anra gehwam ece mede
 heofonlice hyrsta, þæt is healice gifu,
 gemang þam aenlican engla werode
 and þaera haligra heapum and þreatum.
 148, alma dei genitrix, *seo frowe þe us frean acende*
 64, polorum, *swegles hleo*
 127, coelestia regna, *heofonrice*,
 58, coetibus angelicis, *upplice eoredheapas, ealle engla*
 þreatas, eal engla werod,
 10, genus humanum, *eall manna cynn*
 66, omnes homines, *eal Adames cnosl, eorþbuendra*,
 36, orbis, *eorþan ymbhwyrft*

³For an edition of the poem containing the Latin text, cf. J. R. Lumby, *Be Domes Daege*. London, 1876.

94, gehennae, *grunde, susle on helle,*

93, miseras poenas, *earmlicu witu.*

In this, as in the other translations from the Latin, the peculiar technique of Anglo-Saxon verse often necessitated departures from an exact rendering of Latin phrases.

If we should attempt to draw conclusions from this or any other given example of translation, we might say that the Latin influence in the formation of Anglo-Saxon phrases was not very great. An examination, however, of a large body of Latin poems including hymns, and of Latin prose including the Vulgate, puts it beyond question that the majority of Anglo-Saxon terms for religious conceptions, and probably some of the others, are of Latin origin.

The Anglo-Saxon poets had abundant precedent for their practice of multiplying religious terms, especially designations of the Deity, in their poems. The Psalms and other lyrical parts of the Bible sanction the usage, and, more markedly, the Latin hymns and many of the other Christian Latin poems are full of these repetitions. Take, for example, the following lines from Paulinus (d. 431) and these from Ennodius (d. 521), both of whom also wrote well known hymns:

Indulgens sanctus justus patiens miserator
plenus perfectus maximus omnipotens
Solus nec solus terque unus et in tribus unus
hoc semper major quo fides es uberior.⁴

and

Fons via dextra lapis vitulus leo lucifer agnus
Janua spes virtus verbum sapientia vates
Hostia virgultum pastor mons rete columba
Flamma gigans aquila sponsus patientia vermis
Filius excelsus dominus deus, omnia Christus.⁵

⁴Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina. Vindobonae, 1894.

⁵Magni Felicis Ennodii Opera Omnia. Vindobonae, 1882. Good evidence of the familiarity of the Anglo-Saxon poets with the phraseology of the Latin hymns and other Christian Latin poems is afforded by the bilingual poems. Compare, for example, the following entitled, "Aufforderung zum Gebet" in Grein-Wulker:

þaenne gemiltsaþ þe, N.,	<i>mundum qui regit,</i>
þeoda þrym cyninge	<i>thronum sedens</i>
a butan ende.....	
saule wine	
Geune þe on life	<i>auctor pacis</i>
sibbe gesaelþa	<i>salus mundi,</i>
metod se maera	<i>magna virtute</i>
and se soþfaesta	<i>summi filius</i>
fo on fultum,	<i>factor cosmi,</i>
se of aepelre waes	<i>virginis partu</i>
claene acenned	<i>Christus in orbem,</i>
metod þurh Marian,	<i>mundi redemptor,</i>
and þurh þaene halgan gast.	<i>Voca frequenter,</i>
bide helps hine	<i>clementem dominum,</i>
se onsended waes	<i>summe de throno</i>
and þaere claenan	<i>clara voce</i>
þa gebyrd bodade	<i>bona voluntate,</i>
þaet heo sceolde cennan	<i>Christum regem,</i>
calra cyninga cyninge	<i>casta vivendo.</i>
And þu þa soþfaestan	<i>supplex roga,</i>
fultumes bidde friclo	<i>virginem almam</i>
and þaer aefter to	<i>omnes sanctos</i>
blipmod bidde,	<i>beatos et justos,</i>
þaet hi ealle þe	<i>unica voce,</i>
þingian to þeodne	<i>thronum regenti,</i>
aecum drihtne,	<i>alta polorum,</i>
þaet he þine saule,	<i>summus iudex,</i>
onfo freolice,	<i>factor aeternus,</i>
and he gelaede	<i>(in) lucem perhennem,</i>
þaer eadige	<i>animae sanctae,</i>
rice restaþ	<i>regno caelorum!*</i>

*Grein-Wulker *Bibliothek*, II, 277 ff.

ANGLO-SAXON TERMS FOR EARTHLY RULERS USED IN BEOWULF AND THE NON-RELIGIOUS POEMS.

A comparison of the following lists of terms for earthly rulers with the lists of designations of the Deity will show that less frequently than one would probably expect was the appellation of the earthly ruler transferred to God. This point I shall try to make clear in my notes which accompany the lists.

Cyning, Beo. et al., passim; god cyning,^a 11, 863; bregorof cyning, 1925; þeodecyning, 2, 2144, 2579, 2694, 2970, 3008;

^aThe references are to the lines in the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek* and are for Beowulf except when some other poem is named.

Chron. V, 34; guþcýning, 199, 2335, 2677, 3036; leodecýning, 54; sigeroþ cýning, 619; heahcýning, 1039; eorþcýning, 1155; frodecýning, 1155; woroldcýning, 1684, 3181; rumheort cýning, 2110; saecýning, 2382; folccýning, 2733; heaþogeong cýning, Finns. 2; heaþoroþ cýning, 2191; niþheard cýning, 2417; beorn-cýning, 2148; Engla cýning, Chron. III, B. 2.

Mondryhten, 1249, 1978, 2604, 2647, 2849, 3149; Wand. 37; Botschaft 6; Geata dryhten 1831, 2402, 2483, 2560, 2576, 2901, 2991; winedryhten, 1604, 2722, 3176; Wand. 37; Maldon 248, 263; freodryhten, 1169, 2627; eorla dryhten, 1050, 2338; Brun. 1; gumdryhten, 1642; freadryhten, 796; sigedryhten, 391; Widsiþ 104; dryhten wereda, 2186; dryhten, 2753, 2789; Seefahrer 41 (?), 43 (?); hleodryhten, Widsiþ 94.

Wealdend, Chron. V, 6, Rid. 21/4, 24/6; Wand. 78; haeleþa wealdend, Chron. V, 8; Engla wealdend, Chron. III, A 1.

Frea, 2537, 2853, 641, 2285, 2662, 3002, 3107; Mald. 12, 184, 259, 289; Botschaft 9; frea Scyldinga, 351, 1166, 1680, 291; maere frea, 276.

þeoden, 1085, 1627, 2869; Chron. III. A 20; Wand. 95, Mald. 120, 158, 232, 294; Botschaft 28; maere þeoden, 245, 797, 1046, 1715, 2572, 1598, 2788, 3141, 129, 201; þeoden Scyldinga, 1675, 1871, 2032, 2056, 3037, 2786, 2336; rice þeoden, 1209; leof þeoden, 34, 3079; þeoden þristhydig, 2810; Engla þeoden, Chron. II. 1.

Landfruma leof, 31; aeþele ordfruma, 263; wigfruma, 664; hildfruma, 2649, 2835, 1678; El. 10, 101; daedfruma dyre, Chron. II, 3; leodfruma, Klage 8; El. 191; Ex. 354; And. 1662; Gen. 1246; Met. 1/27; Beo. 2130; leof leodfruma, Ph. 345; And. 989.

Hlaford, 267, 2634, 2642; Mald. 189, 224, 240, 318; Klage 6; Wald. A. 30; leof hlaford, 3142; Engla hlaford, Chron. V. 1; wigena hlaford, Mald. 135.

Helm Scyldinga, etc., 456, 1322, 2382, 2462, 2705, 371; lid-manna helm, 1623; weoruda helm, El. 223; aeþelinga helm, Gen. 1858, 2656, 2721, 2145; herigea helm, El. 148.

Rices weard, 1390; folces weard, 2513; Gen. 2666; eþelweard, 616, 2210, 1702; Dan. 55; hordweard haeleþa, 1047, 1852; guþweard gumena, El. 14; Ex. 174; hordweard, Ex. 35, 511; Dan. 65; beahhorda weard, 921; beaga weard, Gen. 2782; Babilone weard, Dan. 116, et al.; yrfeweard, Ex. 142; dryhtenweard, Dan. 535; gumena weard, Gabea 59; weorodes weard, Dan. 552; wigena weard, El. 153.

Folces hyrde, 610, 1832, 1849, 2644, 2981; Finns. 46; rices hyrde, 3080, 2027; Gen. 2334; Ex. 256; Met. 26/8, 41; sinces hyrde, Gen. 2101.

Brego Beorht-Dena, etc., 427, 609; haeleþa brego, 1954; brego, Brun. 33.

Eorla hleo, 791, 1866, 1967, 2142, 2190; Deor. 41; wigen-dra hleo, 429, 899, 1972, 2337; Chron. II. 12; El. 150; haeleþa hleo, Mald. 74; aeþelinga hleo, El. 99.

Leodgebyrgea, 269; El. 11, 203.

Mecga mundbora, Chron. II, 1.

Eodor Scyldinga, etc., 428, 663, 1044.

Folca raeswa, Dan. 667; weoroda raeswa, 60.

Ealdor, 56, 346, 1848; Mald. 11, 53, 222, 314; aldor East-Dena, 392; ealdor þegna, 1644; folces ealdor, Mald. 202; eorla aldor, Chron. III, B. 12; þioda aldor, Met. 26/7; werodes aldor, Gen. 1643.

Aeþelinga bearn, 1408, 2597; aeþelinges bearn, 888; þeodnes haeleþa bearn, 1189.

Sinces brytta, 607, 1170, 2071; Wand. 25; El. 194; Gen. 2727, 1857; beaga brytta, 35, 1487, 352; goldes brytta, Gen. 2867, 1997.

Sincgyfa, 1012, 1342, 2311; Mald. 278; Met. 1/50; beaggyfa, 1102; Mald. 290; goldgyfa, 2652; Seef. 83; Jud. 279; wilgyfa, 2900; mapþumgyfa, Wand. 92; beorna beahgifa, Chron. III, B. iv; Brun. 2; Chron. I. 2; El. 100, 1199; aetgifa, Gen. 1361; Geschicke 91.

Aeþeling, 1596, 1815, 1920, 2374, 2443, 2715, 3; Brun. 58; Chron. IV, 16; aeþeling aergod, 130, 2342; aeþeling aenhydig, 2667.

Gumena baldor, Gen. 2693; rinca bealdor, Jud. 339; wigena bealdor, Jud. 49; winia bealdor, 2567; sinca bealdor, 2428.

Wine Deniga, etc., 350, 2101, 30, 148, 170, 1184, 2027; goldwine Geata, 2419, 2584; goldwine gumena, 1171, 1476, 1602; freowine folca, 430, 2429, 2357; freawine, 2439; goldwine, Wand. 35; wine, Mald. 250; Wald. B. 14; Beo. 3097.

Werodes wisa, Ex. 258; folces wisa, Gen. 1198; æþelinga aldorwisa, Gen. 1237; heafodwisa, Gen. 1619; herges wisa, 3020, Dan. 203.

Wedera leod, 341, 625, 829, 1538, 1612, 2551; leod, 24.

Hringa fengel, 2345; snottra fengel, 1475.

Hringa þengel, 1507.

Eorl, 6, 1512; Wand. 84; Mald. 89, 146, 165, 233.

Caser, Seef. 82.

Aldordema, Gen. 1156.

Heretema, El. 10.

Frumgar, 2856; Gen. 1169, 1183, 1708, 2052, 2116, 2614, 2577, 2659.

Folcagend, Jul. 186.

Hearra, Mald. 204.

Se rica, 1975.

Se goda, 1518.

Kyning [a] wuldor, 665.

It might be assumed that whenever a designation of an earthly ruler was felt to be an appropriate term to apply to the Deity, the transference was easily and naturally made. This was doubtless true but with this limitation: the evidence indicates that the term was not felt to be appropriate unless it was sanctioned by Latin use of an equivalent term which was applied to the Deity. At least, every one of the terms so transferred was sanctioned in this way, and many of those not transferred were not so sanctioned.

In the first group, the terms taken over were *cyning* (rex), *heah cyning* (rex altissimus), and perhaps *þeodcyning* (=þeoda cyning?—rex gentium).

peodcyning, used frequently in *Beowulf* of earthly rulers, was not improbably an old Germanic term (cf. O. N. *þjóð-konungr*). In the *Heliand* it occurs once as a designation of Christ (4799). In Anglo-Saxon it occurs only once as a designation of the Deity and this is a doubtful passage of the Vercelli text of the *Rede der Seele* (l. 12), in which the reading is not supported by the Exeter text of the poem. The passage in the Vercelli text is as follows:

Sceal se gast cuman geþum hremig
 Symble ymbe seofan niht, sawle findan
 þone lichoman, þe hie aer lange waeg,
 þreo hund wintra, *butan aer peodcyning*
 aelmihtig god ende worulde
 wyrcean wille, weoruda dryhten.⁷ (9-14)

In the Exeter text the reading is:

Sceal se gast cuman. gehþum hremig.
 Syle ymb seofon niht. sawle findan.
 þone lichoman. þe heo aer longe waeg
 þreo hund wintra, *butan aer wyrce. ece dryhten*
 aelmihtig god. ende worulde.⁸ (9-13)

In regard to line 12 Wulker notes: "12 ff. Ettm. sagt: *Lacuna* Thorpius non notavit; scribi fortassis potest: 'þreo hund wintra siþþan þonan gewat.' Gr. meint in der Exeter hs. fehle halbzeile. Ich halte mich an der Verc. text, der hier entschieden besser ist." But *peodcyning* in the Vercelli reading affords questionable alliteration, and the word is at least doubtful.

There is a point to be noted also in regard to the meaning of *peodcyning*. It is difficult to determine to what extent *peod* as a prefix had faded into an intensive. (Cf. *peodbealu*, *cruciatu ingens*-Grein). In Old Saxon, *þiod* seems certainly to have become an intensifier—cf. *þiodgumo*. *peodcyning* then may mean here "the mighty king."

⁷Grein-Wulker, II, 93.

⁸Ibid, p. 92.

In the next group, *dryhten* (dominus), *dryhten wereda* (dominus exercitum) and *sigedryhten* (dominator dominus) are used as terms for the Deity. It will be noticed they occur very rarely as names for earthly rulers. *Sigedryhten*, though used only once in *Beowulf* applied to an earthly ruler, was perhaps an old Germanic compound, sanctioned by Latin precedent to be applied to the Deity. It occurs three times in the *Heliand* applied to God. In O.N., Odin is *Sigtivi*, *sigfödr*, *sigrhöfundr*.⁹ In A. S. *sige* is used in a large number of compounds, and from such formations as *sigetorht* it would seem that this word like *þeod* was becoming an intensive prefix. The same is true of *sigor* and perhaps also of *sigora* (*es*).

Drihten wereda applied to an earthly ruler occurs only once in A.S. in the following passage in *Beowulf*:

naes him hreoh sefa

ac he mancynnes maeste craefte
ginfaestan gife þe him God sealde,
heold hildedeor. Hean waes lange,
swa hyne Geata bearn godne ne tealdon,
ne hyne on medobence micles wyrþne
drihten wereda gedon wolde.

Beo. 2180 ff.

On the other hand, the phrase is extremely common as applied to the Deity, in which cases it is undoubtedly equivalent to *dominus exercitum*. It will be noted further that this is a "Christianized" passage in *Beowulf*, and it does not seem likely that a Christian poet would transfer a regular and very frequent term for the Deity to an earthly ruler. Is it not possible at least that the phrase here refers to God?

In Old Norse the nearest equivalents to this term are *verþungar visi*, *verþungar gramr*, *gumna stiori*, *drotta stiori*, *inn-drottar geymir*, and *verþungar vörþr*, *hers oddviti*, *folks oddviti*, *her-baldr*, and *her-konungr*.

⁹Because of the Christian veneer on the Old Norse mythology, it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether the conceptions embodied in many of the mythological terms are of Germanic or of Christian origin.

In the next group the only certain representative as a term for ruler of tribe or band is *Engla waldend* (ruler of the English). In this term, as in *Engla þeoden* (lord or King of the English), it is possible that we have a play on words (also sanctioned by the high precedent of Gregory), because *engla waldend* and *engla þeoden* (lord and ruler of the angels) were very common designations of the Deity. (Cf. *Engla hlaforð*, also in the Chronicle.)

It is strange that *waldend* was not more frequently used as a term for lord and king; it seems like a most natural and appropriate designation, yet it is not clearly so used in Anglo-Saxon poetry except in the three instances cited above from the Chronicle. As a term for the Deity it is exceedingly common, both singly and in combination, and is equivalent to *dominator rector, regnator, gubernator*.¹⁰

In the next group, *frea* was taken over as a term for the Deity. Though it is so used in many Anglo-Saxon poems, it is comparatively not very frequent in any of them. In the Gothic gospels, *frauja* regularly translates dominus (Matt. 3/3, 5/33 et al.), just as in the Anglo-Saxon gospels *dryhten* regu-

¹⁰In connection with *waldend*, one might note here *ealwalda*, which though not actually found in the extant A. S. poetry to designate an earthly ruler, might have been so used. O. N. *Yngva þiöpar allvaldr. Yngva aldar allvaldr* (*Corp Poet. Bor.* II, 479). It is more probable, however, that when the A. S. poets applied the term to God, they had in mind the Latin *omnipotens*.

In regard to the use of *allvaldr* as a designation of Odin, Kahle reaches the conclusion: Das in Gísla saga Surssonar für Óþinn vorkommende *allvaldr alda* hat natürlich keine beweiskraft; eher schon derselbe ausdrück bei Kormakr (Sn. E. I, 242) der um die mitte des 10 jahrh's lebte. Dass man die gestalt Óþins nach dem muster irdischer künige bildete war schonbemerkt. Um so mehr konte er *allvaldr* genannt werden, denn Snorri Sturluson nent dies wort unter den heiti für kaiser, künig, jarl, Sn. E. I, 512, dabei hinzufügend: þui heitir hann *allvaldr at hann er einvaldi alls rikis sins*. So auch der von den skalden gefeierte Óþinn.¹¹ Yet in the old mythological poems of the Edda, *allvaldr* as a name for Odin does not occur.

¹¹B. Kahle-Das Christentum in der Altwestnordischen Dichtung. *Arkiv für Nordisk Filologi* XVII, *Ny följd* XIII, p. 142 f.

larly translates the same word. In Old Saxon *frao* (*fro*) is frequently used as a term for Christ and less frequently for God; but in Old Saxon also it is much less frequent than *drohtin*. It looks as if in both Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon the word was being superseded by *dryhten* (*drohtin*).

In the next group, *þeoden*, *maere þeoden*, and *rice þeoden* (used once), were taken over. Like *frea*, these terms, though widespread, are comparatively infrequent as designations of the Deity. In the Gothic gospels *þiudans* regularly translates *rex*. (Mk. 15/2 et al.)

In the Heliand, *thiodan* is used fourteen times, *mari þiodan* once, and *riki þiodan* once, and in all these cases designates Christ, not God. In the Anglo-Saxon Gospels *cynning* is used where the Gothic has *þiudans* (Mk. 15/2 et al.). Possibly in Anglo-Saxon the word was giving way to *cynning* or was becoming more generalized in meaning so as to be equivalent to *dryhten*. With *maere deoden* and *rice deoden* respectively compare the Latin designations of the Deity *rex laudabilis*, *gloriosus rex*, *dominus gloriae* and *rex magnus*, *rex omnipotens*, *dominus potens et fortis*.

In the next group, *aeþele ordfruma* is interesting. It occurs in Beowulf (263) as a designation of *Ecgþeow*. *Waes min faeder folcum gecyþed, aeþele ordfruma Ecgþeow haten*.

Ordfruma is very common among the designations of the Deity as Creator. It is synonymous with *scyppend* and equivalent to *auctor*, *fons*, *creator*, in *eades ordfruma* (*auctor salutis*) *lifes ordfruma* (*auctor, fons vitae*), *engla ordfruma* (*creator angelorum*) and the like. In Cri. 402 we find *aeþele ordfruma ealra gesceafta* (*creator universae creaturae, omnis creaturae creator, auctor naturae et al.*) In the Heliand it occurs once, *apalordfruma alomahtig* (H. 31). In the Beo. passage the meaning of the term given by Wyatt in the vocabulary of his edition is "chief, prince;" and Grein (*Sprachschatz*) gives "summus, princeps" as the meaning for this place. In view of its frequent

use as "author," "source," may it not here have the meaning of "genitor?"¹²

From the next group, *hlaford*, is taken over occasionally (principally by Cynewulf) and seems to be substituted for *dryhten* (*dominus*), though possibly the Biblical conception of God as the giver of life and sustenance is implied. Cf. also *dator escae* (*Prudentius-Psych.* 624).

The next five groups show that the conception of the Germanic king as protector and defender is very common. Cf. O.N. *landvörðr*, *foldarvörðr*, *folkvörðr*, *landreki*, *þiöpskati* et al., In the Latin there are many terms for God as protector: *custos*, *pastor*, *susceptor*, *protector*, *adjutor*, *suffragator*, et al. Of the compounds *folca weard* as a term for God is perhaps closer to *folces weard* applied to earthly rulers than to the Biblical *protector est omnibus*.

The last phrase *Kyning[a]wuldor* (Beo. 665) is taken by Wyatt as referring to Hroðgar and by Grein (*Sprachschatz*) as referring to God. The passage is as follows:

Haefde kyning[a]wuldor

Grendle togeanes, swa guman gefrungon,

Seleweard aseted; sundornytte beheold

Ymb aldor Dena, eotenweard ahead. (Beo. 665 ff.)

Then follows immediately:

Huru Geata leod georne truwoðe

modgan maegnes, Metodes hylðo. (Beo. 669-670)

Cyninga wuldor is not an infrequent designation of the Deity and probably is equivalent to *gloriosus rex* or *rex gloriae*. Cf. *wifa wuldor* (Men. 149) and *gloriosa femina* as designations of the Virgin. There can be little doubt that the term in Beo. refers to God, not to Hroðgar, and the meaning is: "The Glory of Kings (King of Glory) has set a guard against Grendel, as men (afterwards) found out."

In the next group of phrases, the *bearn* element is interesting. In Beowulf it is used almost exclusively of Beowulf; and in phrases fashioned like *bearn Ecgþeowes*, in which the

¹²Cf. Runenlied 10: (OS) *byþ orðfruma aelcre spræce*.

second element is the father's name, there is no clear case showing that *bearn* is applied to anyone but Beowulf, for in the only other instance *b* [earn] *Healdenes* (line 1020), the Ms. has "brand." *Bearn Ecgþeowes* for Beowulf occurs ten times, and *sunu Ecgðeowes* three times; whereas instead of *bearn*, *sunu* is regularly used in the phrase to designate *Hroþgar*, *Hygelac* and *Wiglaf*. *Bearn* (proles, suboles, progenies) probably was not so prosaic and commonplace in its connotation as *sunu* (filius). Cynewulf's use of the word in the signed poems is noteworthy, for, whereas, in other poems it frequently occurs in phrases like *fira bearn*, *nipþa bearn*, *haeleþa bearn*, etc. as a term for Men, Cynewulf does not so use it except once in El. 181. As a designation of Christ, however he uses it in combination very many times.¹³

¹³In connection with *bearn*, *faeder* (*pater*) often used as a designation of God, may be mentioned here, though the term is not used in Anglo-Saxon as the designation of an earthly ruler. It occurs in Old Norse in combinations as a term for Odin.

As to the question as to whether Odin was conceived of as father before Christian influences had an opportunity to operate, Kahle's investigation led him to the following conclusions: "Es sind das besonders beivortet, durch die Opinn als vater der götter und menschen, als der mächtiger herrscher des weltalls erscheint. Zur erklärungs diene die stelle Snorri Sturlusons, Sn. E. I, 54: *ok fyrir þui ma hann heita Allfaþr, at hann er faþir all allra guþanna ok manna, ok all dess, er af honum ok hans krapti var fullgert*. Und an anderer stelle, Sn. E. I, 89, *Opinn heitir Allfaþr, þui at hann er faþir allra goða*. Dass dieser beiname nicht etwa nur eine Konstruktion Snorris est, zeigt uns der umstand, dass er unter den Opinsheiti der Grímnismál, 48³, vorkommt, ebenso Helg. Hunt. I, 38⁴. Nach der datierung Finnur Jons-sons sind die Grímnismál etwa in die zeit von 900-925 zu setzen, Halg. Hund. in die von 1000-1025. Das erste gedicht fällt also in rein heidnische zeit, das zweite in die zeit des übergangs zum neuen glauben. Aber es ist zu bemerken dass der vers der Grímn. sicher nicht zum alten gedicht gehört hat, sondern erst später, vielleicht aber doch noch in heidnischer zeit, interpoliert ist. In einer strophe Brages, 15², wird Þorr *sonr alfaðar* genannt, was der lesart *aldafaþur(s)* vorzuziehen ist. Wenn man nun, wie ich tue, die strophen Brages für echt hält, dann könnte man, für diesen ausdruck wenigstens, kaum, wie Golther will, Christlichen einfluss annehmen; denn dass dieser sich auf erzeugnisse der dichtkunst schon in der ersten hälfte des 9 jahrh's, geltend gemacht haben könnte, ist doch sehr unwahrscheinlich. Ist aber

From the next groups, *sincgyfa* and *wilgyfa* were taken over, doubtless under the influence of the Christian conceptions of God as the liberal rewarder of those that seek him and the giver of every good and perfect gift. Cf. Latin phrases for God: *largitor premii*, *largitor deus omnium bonorum*, *largus dator*, etc.

From the next group, *aepeling* was transferred. Here the Latin equivalent applied to the Deity is *inclitus*, or *inclitus natus*, terms frequent in the hymns. (Cf. Wr.-Wülk, A.S. and O.E. Vocabularies, I 309/23, where *clito* is glossed *aepelinge*.) It is probable that *beorn*, much less frequently used as a term for Christ, was also equivalent to the Latin *inclitus natus*.

ANGLO-SAXON KENNINGS.

In dealing with this matter of sources, I cite only one instance of the occurrence of each Anglo-Saxon term.

*Indicates that the equivalent term occurs in Latin.

°Indicates that (1) a term of similar import occurs in Latin or (2) the phrase is formed on the analogy of some other Anglo-Saxon phrase which comes from the Latin.

ANGLO-SAXON TERMS FOR THE DEITY.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. Latin creator, constitutor, formator, faber, plasmator, factor, fabricator, auctor, conditor, repertor, opifex, patrator, propagator, artifex. pp. 374, 379 f., 389, 393, 386, 395.

aldafapur das richtige, so gilt das gesagte natürlich auch für dieses wort, beide sind ja aus derselben vorstellung hervorgegangen, die in den kriegern—und dichterkreisen die herschen geworden war, und der in den erwähnten worten Snorris ausdrück gegeben ist, eine vorstellung, die sich ganz auf nordischen boden entwickeln konnte, nachdem Óðinn einmal der alles überragende himmels-gott geworden war, und man die götter in ein verwandtschaftliches system gebracht hatte.*

Óðinn was also *sigfapr*, *herfapr*, and *vafapr*.† The *faeder* phrases for God in Anglo-Saxon, nevertheless, seem directly dependent on the Latin.

*B. Kahle—*Das Christentum in der Altwestnordischen Dichtung*. *Arkiv for Nordisk Filolog*; XVII, Ny. Folge XIII, p. 141f.

†Vigfusson-Powel. *Corp. Poet. Bor.* II. 461f.

*Se scyppend,¹⁴ Sal. Sat. 56; °Scyppend maere, Ps. 103/23; *mihta scyppend, Gu. 1131; *heofona scyppend, And. 192; *engla scyppend, And. 119; *gasta scyppend, Dan. 292; *frymþa scyppend, Ph. 630; °weoroda scyppend,¹⁵ V.L. 62; *manna scyppend, And. 486; *haeleþa scyppend, Hym. 34; *aelda scyppend, Wand, 85; *eallra scyppend, El. 370. *Ece eadfruma, Cri. 532; *eades ordfruma, Cri. 1199; *ordfruma,¹⁶ Gen. 13; *engla ordfruma, Fa. 28; *ordfruma ealra gesceafta, Cri. 402; *liffruma, lifes fruma, El. 335; *lifes ordfruma, Cri. 277; °sigores fruma,¹⁷ Cri. 294; °dugeþa daedfruma,¹⁸ And. 75; *maerþa fruma, Chron. III B. 21; °herga fruma,¹⁹ El. 210; °piodfruma,¹⁹ Met. 29/95; *moncynnes fruma,¹⁹ Ph. 377; *ealles folces fruma,¹⁹ Höll. 41; *fyrnweorca fruma,²⁰ Cri. 578; *lifes leohtfruma, And. 387,

*Wuldres wyrhta,²¹ Ph. 130; *wealdend and wyrhta, Met. 30/14.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. Latin rex, dominus, sator, rector, dominator, regnator, moderator, perdomitor, imperator, gubernator. For the whole group, cf. pp. 375, 380 ff., 389 f., 393 f., 386.

¹⁴All the phrases for the conception of God as creator come from the Latin.

¹⁵A variant of *weoroda dryhten*, which comes from *dominus exercitum* or *dominus virtutum*. Cf. *creator hominum*.

¹⁶*Fruma* and *ordfruma* pass over from the meaning of *beginning* to that of *beginner*, from *principium* to *fons, origo, auctor*, etc., sometimes also from *principium* to *princeps*.

¹⁷Probably a variant of *sigores god* and *sigores frea* (*deus victriae*).

¹⁸A variant probably of *dugeþa dryhten* from *dominus virtutum*, but cf. *virtutis auctor*.

¹⁹See under "*Ruler*."

²⁰Cf. *principium creaturae*.

²¹A variant perhaps of *wuldres cyning* (*rex gloriae*) or *wuldres dryhten* (*dominus gloriae*), but more likely from *factor caeli*, or *caeli conditor*.

*Cyning, Jul. 704;²² *heahecyning, Gen. 124; *se hyhsta cyning, Jul. 716; °aepelcyning, El. 219;²³ °se aepela cyning, Ph. 614;²³ *aerfaest cyning, Jud. 190; *waerfaest cyning, And. 416; *soþfaest cyning, Ex. 9;²⁴ soþcyning, Gen. 2635;²⁴ *wuldorfaest cyning, Az. 133; stipfrip cyning, Gen. 107; *tirmeahtig cyning, Cri. 1166; tireadig cyning, Geb. 3/2; *beorht cyning, Cri. 828; *blipheort cyning, Gen. 192; *se mihtiga cyning, Ph. 496; *cyning aelmihtig, El. 145; *se eca cyning, Schöpf. 32; *maegencyning, El. 1247; *maegena cyning, Cri. 833; *nergend cyning, Geb. 4/49; *haelend cyning, Glaub. 10; cyning anborn, Cri. 618;²⁵ *þrydcyning, And. 436; *ealra cyninga cyning, Jul. 289; *cyninga cyning cwicera gehwilces, Hy. 15; cyninga selast, Holl. 119; reþust ealra cyninga, Holl. 36; *engla cyning, Gen. 1503; *heahengla cyning, Cri. 528; °gastcyning, Gen. 2883; *heofenengla cyning, Cri. 1010; *heofoncyning halig, Gen. 1315; *heofoncyninga hyhst, Jüngste Ger. 108; *heofones (na) cyning, And. 1507; *se heofonlica cyning Ps. 67/14; *heofones heahcyning, Gen. 50; *rodorcyning, El. 1074; *rodora cyning, El. 1074; *swegelecyning, Gu. 1055; *wuldorcyning, Gen. 165; *wuldres cyning, Jul. 516; *cyning on wuldre, Vater Unser 3/2; *cyning cwicera gehwaes, And. 912; *cyning ealwihta, Cri. 687; °weoruda(es) wuldorcyning, Gen. 2;²⁶ *monna cyning, Versuch Chr. 24; *þeodecyning, Rede de S. 12; *þeoda þrymcyning, Metr. 20/205; °sigora soþcyning, Cri. 1229.²⁷

For the dryhten group, cf. pp. 375, 381 f, 389, 393 f.

*Maere dryhten, Ps. 79/5; *mihtig dryhten, Jud. 92; *lifes dryhten, Ps. 119/2; frea dryhten, Gen. 884; *dryhten,

²²Though *cyning* was of course a common appellation of an earthly ruler, yet practically all of the kennings in this list come from the Latin.

²³Cf. *inclitus natus, inclita proles*.

²⁴Cf. *verus deus, verax dominus, vera lux*, etc. Cf. also *rex rectissimus*.

²⁵Cf. *filius unigenitus*.

²⁶Cf. *dominus exercitum*.

²⁷Cf. *deus victoriae* and note 24 supra.

passim;²⁸ *ece dryhten, Gen. 7; *dryhtna dryhten, Jul. 594; *mihta dryhten, Geb. 3/33; *engla dryhten, Ex. 558; °gaesta dryhten, Jüngst. Ger. 81;²⁹ *heofones(na) dryhten, Cri. 348; *wuldres dryhten, Geb. 3/54; *dugeþa dryhten, El. 81; *weoruda dryhten, El. 896;³⁰ *dryhten gumena, Vater Unser 2/14; *weorulddryhten, Met. 29/1; °gifena dryhten, Gen. 2935; °sigora dryhten, El. 346;³¹ °sigedryhten, Cri. 128;³² *soþ sige-dryhten, Vater Unser 2/34; *bealde dryhten, Ps. 67/22; *soþ dryhten, Cri. 572; *dryhten haelend, El. 725; *dryhten ealra haeleþa cynnes, El. 188; *dryhten dyre and daedhwaet, El. 292; *halig dryhten, Beo. 686; *rice dryhten, Ps. 96/1; *witig dryhten, Beo. 1841; *dryhten god, Beo. 181; *maegena dryhten, Ps. 83/1; *wealdend dryhten, Ps. 65/16; *leof dryhten, Ps. 77/5; °bliþe dryhten, Ps. 84/1; *nergend dryhten, Ps. 113/9.

For the wealdend group cf. pp. 375, 381 f., 389 f., 393 f.

*Wealdend,³³ Gen. 49; °ece wealdend,³⁴ Geb. 1/2; *meahta wealdend, Vater Unser 2/7; *maegena wealdend, El. 347; *wealdend frea, Cri. 328; *gasta wealdend, Gen. 2174; °wealdend engla,³⁵ Cri. 474; *wuldres wealdend,³⁶ Dan. 13;

²⁸Though *dryhten* is often used of earthly rulers, these phrases in my opinion all come from the Latin. *Dryhten* ordinarily translates *dominus*.

²⁹Cf. *custos animarum, dominator vitae ac spiritus, dominus omnium*.

³⁰*Weoroda dryhten* (*dominus exercitum*) though possibly it occurs once (Beo. 2186) to designate an earthly ruler.

³¹Cf. *sigores god* (*deus victoriae*). *Sigora* probably simply intensive.

³²*Sigedryhten*=*sigora dryhten*. *Sigedryhten* is found once (Beo. 391) as appellation of an earthly ruler.

³³Wealdend is a translation of *dominator, rector, gubernator*, and perhaps occasionally of *dominus*.

³⁴Probably variant of *ece dryhten* (*aeternus dominus*). Cf. *aeternus auctor, aeternus conditor, aeternus iudex*, etc.

³⁵Variant of *engla dryhten* or *engla cyning*, or from a Latin that I have not found.

³⁶Variant of *wuldres cyning* or *wuldres dryhten* perhaps. But compare *dominator caeli, poli rector, caeli regnator*.

*heofones(na) wealdend, Cri. 555; *rodera wealdend, Dan. 291; *dugeþa wealdend, And. 248; *wihta wealdend, Klagen Eng. 125; *weoroda wealdend, And. 388; *ylda wealdend, Beo. 1661; *fira wealdend, Beo. 2741; *folca wealdend, Az. 104; *þeoda wealdend, Dan. 361; *ealles wealdend, Vater Unser 3/1; *ealles oferwealdend, El. 236; *lifes wealdend, Met. 20/268; *leohtes wealdend, Gloria 9; wyrda wealdend,³⁷ El. 80; sigora wealdend,³⁸ Ph. 464; *eorþan wealdend, Glauben 6; *waldend werþeoda, Cri. 714; *haeleþa wealdend, Ps. 141/6; *tires wealdend, Ps. 79/4.

*Anwalda,³⁹ Beo. 1273; °ece anwalda,⁴⁰ Chr. H.A.H. 276; *ealwalda, Beo. 955; °ealwalda engelcynna,⁴¹ Gen. 246; *alwealda ealra gesceafta, Met. 11/22.

*Ece rex, El. 1041.

*Rodera ryhtend, Cri. 798.

*Frea mihtig,⁴² El. 680; *frea aelmihtig, Gen. 116; *engla frea, Gen. 157; *heofona frea, Gen. 1404; *moncynnes frea, Kreuz, 33; *frea folca gehwaes, Dan. 401; *lifes frea (lifþrea),⁴³ Cri. 27; °sigora(es) frea, Jul. 361; °rices frea, Glauben 34; °soþ sigora frea, El. 488.

*Hearra, Gen. 358; Gen. 8.

*þeoda bealdor,⁴⁴ And. 547.

³⁷An interesting analogical formation. Is there any allusion to the Norns, or does the term mean simply "ruler of destinies?" The latter is more probable. Cf. *rerum maximus rector, rerum dominator, sator rerum, moderator temporum, dominator omnium*.

³⁸Variant of *sigores frea, sigores god*.

³⁹All these phrases also from the Latin.

⁴⁰Probably variant of *ece wealdend, ece dryhten*, etc.

⁴¹Probably variant of *engla dryhten, engla cyning*, etc.

⁴²*Frea* (Goth *frauja-dominus* in *Ulfilas*) is used for earthly rulers, but these phrases come from the Latin.

An examination of the Kennings under *dominus, dominator, rector*, and *deus* will show that the Anglo-Saxon phrases are translations or analogical formations.

⁴³Cf. *rex viventium, conditor vitae, fons vitae*, and especially *dominator vitae*.

⁴⁴Probably *princeps populorum, rex gentium*.

*Maere þeoden,⁴⁵ And. 94; *þeoden;⁴⁶ *rice þeoden,⁴⁵ And. 364; *þeoden engla, Ex. 431; *þeoden þrymfaest, Cri. 457; *herga fruma, El. 210; *ealles folces fruma, Holl. 29; *man-cynnes fruma, Ph. 377; *upengla fruma, And. 226; °burhleoda fruma, Chr. H.A.H. 196; °þiodfruma, Met. 29/94; *heofona hlaford,⁴⁷ Kreuz. 45; *hlaford, Cri. 461; *eallra hlaford, El. 475.

*Casere,⁴⁸ Ph. 634; *se recend, Rā. 41/3.

*Se agend, Beo. 3075;⁴⁹ °sigores agend, Cri. 420; *wuldres agend, Cri. 1198; *swegles agend, Cri. 534; *lifes agend, Cri. 478.

3. *God as Protector.*

Cf. Latin protector, defensor, custos, pastor, suffragator, adjutor, recreator, animator. Cf. pp. 375 f., 382, 390, 394.

*Se micela helm,⁵⁰ Klagen Eng. 252; *heofona helm, Jul. 722; *heofonrices helm, Cri. 566; *wuldres helm, Cri. 463; °engla helm,⁵¹ Gen. 2751; *gasta helm, El. 176; *aepelinga helm,⁵² And. 277; *helm ealwihhta, Cri. 274; *wera helm, Cri. 634; *haligra helm, Cri. 529.

⁴⁵*Maere þeoden* and *rice þeoden* were perhaps only Germanic formulas, though there are plenty of Latin equivalents.

⁴⁶(Goth. *þiudans*—*rex* in Ulfilas).

Þeoden which occurs 39 times in *Beowulf* as the designation of an earthly ruler or leader is not often used of God. *Cyning* was probably used instead. See *rex* combinations for sources of these phrases, also *dominus*.

⁴⁷*Hlaford* is occasionally substituted for *dryhten*, *frea*, etc., in combinations from *dominus*, *dominator*, etc.

⁴⁸A rare loan word.

⁴⁹Not used to designate earthly rulers. It is sometimes used for *frea* and *dryhten* in combinations from *deus*, *dominus*, *dominator*, etc. Cf. *dominus omnitenens* and *omnitenens*.

⁵⁰Though *helm*, *weard*, *hyrde*, *brego* are often used of earthly rulers, yet their Latin equivalents *protector*, *defensor*, *custos*, *pastor*, etc., are in my opinion the sources of practically all the Kennings in this list.

⁵¹Cf. *dominus angelorum*, *rex angelorum*, *lux angelorum*, etc.

⁵²Cf. *protector omnium*, *pastor omnium*.

Burhweard,⁵³ And 660; *gasta weard, El. 1021; °upengla weard, Men. 210; °engla weard,⁵⁴ El. 1315; wuldres weard, Gen. 941; *swegles weard, Jud. 80; *moncynnes weard, Gen. 2757; *folca weard, Cri. 946; °middangeardes weard, And. 82; °brytenrices weard, Az. 107; °heah hordes weard,⁵⁵ Schöpf. 39; lifes w., lifweard, Gu. 901; °leohtes weard, Jüng. Ger. 53; °sigora(es) weard, Cri. 243; *heofonrices weard, Jul. 212; *heofones weard, Ps. 101/2.

*halig hyrde, Cu. 761; *gasta hyrde, Dan. 199; *wuldres hyrde, Beo. 931; tungla hyrde,⁵⁶ Geb. 4/9; °peoda hyrde,⁵⁷ Az. 150; °rices hyrde,⁵⁸ And. 808; °leohtes(a) hyrde, Az. 121; °prymmes hyrde, El. 348; °sawelcund hyrde, Gu. 288; *feorh-hyrde, Gloria 8.

°Engla brego,⁵⁹ Gen. 181; °heahengla brego, Cri. 403; *gumena brego,⁶⁰ And. 61; *beorna brego, And. 505.

*Manna gehyld, Beo. 3056,⁶¹ °mihtig scyldend, Ps. 143/3; *fultum, Ps. 69/7.

*Helpend and haelend, Jul. 157; *helpend werā, Vater Unser 1/7; *helpend haeleþa, Dan. 403.

⁵³I have not found either a native or a Latin source for this. Cf. *epelweard*, *rices weard* used of earthly rulers in Beo. On the other hand cf. *caeli defensor*, remembering that heaven was the *sanctas civitas*.

⁵⁴Cf. *dominus angelorum, rex angelorum*.

⁵⁵This too is not clear as to source. Cf. *hordweard haeleþa*, and *beah-horda weard* in Beo. On the other hand, the author of this phrase might well have had in mind the "treasures in heaven," *thesauri in caelo*.

In each of these instances, probably both native and Latin influences were operative.

⁵⁶For this fine phrase I suspect a Latin source though I have not found one. Cf. *creator siderum*, also *parens astrorum* and *faber astrorum*. Juv. I, 118.

⁵⁷Cf. *folecs hyrde* (Beo.) for earthly ruler.

⁵⁸Cf. *rices hyrde* (Beo.) for earthly ruler.

⁵⁹*Brego* is used in these combinations as a variant of *helm* and *weard* and *hyrde*, and the phrases come directly or indirectly from the Latin.

⁶⁰Cf. *haeleþa brego* (Beo. 1954) used of a man.

⁶¹Cf. *salus viventium, protector omnium*.

°Gasta geocend,⁶² Cri. 198; °gasta hleo, Jul. 49; *beorna hleo, Jul. 272. *mundbora, Jul. 156; *mild munbora, Jul. 213.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. Latin *judex*, *arbiter*, *censor*. Cf. pp. 376, 382, 390.

*Dema, Christi. H.A.H. 15; *ece dema, Cri. 796; *se hehsta dema, Jud. 4; °sigedema,⁶³ Cri. 1061; *heofendema; *wuldres dema,⁶⁴ Jud. 59; *eorþan dema, Ps. 93/2; *sopfaest dema, Ps. 93/22; *halig dema, Ps. 67/6; daeda demend,⁶⁵ Jul. 725.

*Roderā rhytend, Cri. 798.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. Latin *salvator*, *redemptor*, *servator*, *reparator*, *peremptor*, cf. pp. 376, 383, 390.

*Nergend, Cri. 398; *fira nergend, El. 1172; *sawla nergend, Cri. 571. *niþþa nergend, Gu. 612.

*Haelend, Cri. 435; *helpend and haelend, Jul. 157; *haelend miþþangeardes, Jul. 215; *alysend, Ps. 69/17.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. Latin *praeceptor*, *magister*, *tutor*, *doctor*. Cf. pp. 376, 383, 390.

°Lifes lareow, And. 1466.⁶⁶

7. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. Latin *lux*, *lumen*, *jubar*, *candor*, *illuminatio*, *splendor*, *claritas*, *decus*, *gloria*, *sol*, *oriens*, *aurora*. Cf. pp. 377, 383 f., 390, 394.

*Cyninga wuldor, El. 5; *haeleþa wuldor, And. 1462; *beorna wuldor, El. 186; °wuldor ealwalda,⁶⁷ Dkspr. 133.

þaet ece leoht, Geb. 3/30; *leohtes leoht, Geb. 3/1; *sopfaestra leoht, El. 7.

⁶²Apparently a variant of *gasta weard* (*custos animarum*) as is also *gaesta hleo*.

⁶³Analogical formation; cf. *sigedryhten*, et al.

⁶⁴Cf. *supernus arbiter*. Cf. also *wuldres cyning*, *wuldres dryhten*.

⁶⁵Analogical formation; cf. *dugeþa dryhten*, or from a Latin original that I have not found.

⁶⁶Lareow—*magister*, *praeceptor*, etc. The phrase probably formed on analogy of *lifes fruma*, *lifes frea*, etc. Cf. also Joan, 14/6: *Ego sum via et veritas et vita*.

⁶⁷Cf. *Candor innarabilis*.

*Wuldres þrym, Jul. 641; *eallra þrymma þrym, Gu. 1076; *rodera þrym, Cri. 423; °ealra cyninga þrym,⁶⁸ Vater Unser 3/45; *þrynnesse þrym, Cri. 599; °wigena þrym,⁶⁹ El. 1089; °lifes þrym, Cri. 204; °sigetorht,⁷⁰ Klagen Eng. 240; °sige-beorht,⁷⁰ Cri. 10; *se torhta, Klagen Eng. 294.

*Wuldres leoma, Klagen Eng. 85; *soþfaest sunnan leoma, Cri. 696; *wuldres gim, Ph. 516.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. Latin dux, ductor, princeps, praesne, ducator. Cf. pp. 377, 384, 390 f., 394.

°Gaesta ealdor,⁷¹ Jung. Ger. 91; *wuldres ealdor, Gen. 1002; *swegles ealdor, Jud. 124; *heofona ealdor, Chr. H.A.H. 202; *weoruda ealdor, Cri. 229; °lifes ealdor, Gen. 1113; °sigores ealdor, Geb. 3/20; *þrymmes ealdor, Jul. 448; °mid-dangeardes ealdor, Jul. 154; *maegenþrymmes ealdor, Jul. 154; °lifes latþeow, El. 898; *latteow, Gu. 335; °se rica raesbora, And. 385; °herga fruma,⁷² El. 210; °þiodfruma,⁷³ Met. 29/94.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. Latin pater, genitor, parens. Cf. pp. 377, 384 f., 391, 394 f.

*Halig faeder, Met. 20/46; *faeder,⁷⁴ Beo. 188; *heah-faeder, Kreuz. 134; *soþfaeder, Cri. 105; *beorht faeder, Jüng. Ger. 90; *bilewit faeder, And. 997; *faeder ece, Hy. 14; *faeder aelmihtig, Jul. 658; *faeder alwalda, Beo. 316; *faeder frumsceafta, Cri. 472; °faeder engla, And. 83; *faeder moncynnes, And. 846; *faeder swegles, Cri. 110; *wul-

⁶⁸Cf. *regis decus*. Cf. also *eallra cyninga cyning*, of which this may be a variant.

⁶⁹I have not found the source for this in Latin or in A. S.

⁷⁰*Sige* had become an intensive prefix apparently, as probably also in *sigedryhten*. Cf. *sigeceading* (Beo. 1557).

⁷¹The phrases in this group practically all come from the Latin either directly or by analogical formation.

⁷²This looks like a native kenning, but it might well be a rendering of *dominus exercitum*.

⁷³*þiod* is probably only an intensive prefix. It is not used of an earthly ruler. Cf. *princeps populorum*.

⁷⁴This *faeder* group comes from the Latin.

dorfaeder, Men. 147; *frofra faeder, Gloria 8; *faeder frofre gaest, Jul. 724; *faeder on roderum, El. 1150; *swaes faeder, Cri. 617.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. Latin filius, natus, unigenitus, primogenitus, proles, suboles, genitus, progenies, progenitus. Cf. pp. 376 f., 385, 391, 395.

°Sigebearn,⁷⁵ Holl. 43; *cigebearn godes, Holl. 11; *cynebearn,⁷⁶ And. 566; °wuldres cynebearn, Men. 159; *haelubearn, Cri. 586; *se ancenneda, Rede 51; *efenece bearn agnum faeder, Cri. 465; *godes ece bearn, Cri. 744; *bearn godes, Cri. 774; *god bearn, El. 719; *bearn wealdendes, Jul. 266; °eallre sybbe bearn, El. 466; *aepelust bearna, El. 476; *frumbearn, Cri. 507; *freobearn, Cri. 643; *cyninges freobearn, El. 672; °godes gaestsunu, El. 673; *meotudes sunu, El. 564; *sunu wealdendes, Cri. 635; *soþ sunu meotudes, El. 461; *se deora sunu, Jul. 725; *ancenned sunu, Cri. 464; *sunu dryhtenes, Cri. 297; *mannes sunu, Cri. 126; *meotudes bearn, Cri. 126; °beorht sunu, Cri. 245; *bearn eacen godes, Cri. 205.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. pp. 377, 385 f., 391, 395.

*frofre gast, El. 1036; °swegles gast, Cri. 203.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. Latin largitor, dator, auctor, fons. Cf. pp. 377, 386, 391 f., 395.

*Swegles brytta,⁷⁷ Cri. 281; *lifes brytta, Cri. 334; *blaedes brytta, El. 162; *tires brytta, Jul. 93.

⁷⁵The members of this group also probably all come from the Latin. It is noteworthy that *bearn* occurs far more frequently than *sunu*, which apparently was a word of more commonplace and prosaic connotation.

⁷⁶*Cynebearn* was perhaps an old word for *prince*. It is of course a natural formation, and yet it occurs rarely and only once (Gen. 1704) not referring to Christ. The Latin equivalent is *regia proles*.

⁷⁷One is inclined to think that the phrases of these groups are surely derived from the common Germanic conception of their king or ruler as a treasure-giver. Yet, in my opinion, most of these kennings come rather from the Latin. In the Bible, the idea of God as a giver is prominent, as it is also in the hymns and the other Christian Latin writings. God is the free giver of life, hope, heavenly rewards, of every good and perfect gift.

*Wilgifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 531; °weoruda wilgeafa, And. 62; °weo-
°sinegifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 460; °engla eadgifa, And. 74; *ecra eadgifa,
ruda wuldorgifa,⁷⁹ Glaub. 48; *gifena dryhten, Gen. 2935;
°sinegifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 460; °engla eadgifa, And. 74; *ecra eadgifa,
Jul. 563; °eorla eadgifa, Cri. 546; *folca feorhgifa, Cri. 556;
*se argifa, Gaben 11; °beorht blaedgifa, El. 851; °sawla sym-
belgifa,⁸⁰ And. 1417.

°Sigora sellend,⁸¹ Jul. 668.

13. *Meotod, God.*

Cf. pp. 378, 386 f., 392, 395 f.

*Meotod,⁸² Cri. 716; *meotod mihta, El. 566; °meotud
moncynnes,⁸³ Jul. 182; *meotud meahtig, Jul. 306; *milde
meotod, El. 1042; soþfaest meotud, And. 386; *meotod al-
mihtig, And. 904; *soþ meotod, And. 1602; *scir meotod,
Beo. 979.

*god meahtig, Cri. 6861; °weoroda god, Cri. 6311; *lif-
gende god, Cri. 755; *wealdend god, El. 4; *frymþa god, El.
345; *eallra þrymma god, El. 519; *heahengla god, El. 750;
*maegen a god, El. 809; wuldres god, Jul. 180; *heofonrices
god, Jul. 239; *heafonengla god, Jud. 642; soþ god, Jul. 47;
*god mihta wealdend, El. 1042; *dryhten god, El. 759; *mihta
god, El. 785; *halig god, El. 679; *ahangen god, El. 687;
*sigora god, El. 1307; *þrymsittende god, Jul. 435; *witig

⁷⁸These are of course common appellations of an Anglo-Saxon ruler, but a Christian poet when using them would probably also have in mind such phrases as *largitor premii* and the like, or at least the general idea of God as a giver of rewards. *Wilgifa* translates *largus dator*; *eadgifa*, *auctor salutis*, and all the terms have equivalents in Latin.

⁷⁹Cf. *dator luminis, vitae perpetis largitor*.

⁸⁰Cf. *dator escae*.

⁸¹Cf. *sigora frea, sigora dryhten*, et al. Cf. also *victor, triumphator, superator*.

⁸²Though *meotod* is generally translated "creator" and though possibly that is the etymological significance of the word, yet in the majority of cases I believe it means *deus*. *Meotodes sunu* is an often recurring formula—Cynewulf uses it 8 times, and this suggests *filius dei*. Furthermore, the epithets used with *meotod* are those attached to *deus*.

⁸³In this phrase it may mean *creator*.

god, Ps. 77/20; *ece god, Ps. 5/1; *heah god, Ps. 56/2; *se-goda god, Ps. 58/10; *se maera god, Ps. 76/11; *se deora god, Ps. 143/1; *leof god, Ps. 114/5.

14. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. pp. 378, 387 f., 392, 396.

*Heofonmaegen, Geb. 4/35.

*Rice raedbora,⁸⁴ Vater Unser, 3/38.

*Rice raesbora,⁸⁵ And. 588.

°Aedelinga wyn,⁸⁶ Holl. 121; *lifes wyn, Geb. 3/1.

°Sigora settend,⁸⁷ Dan. 333; °sigerof settend,⁸⁷ Az. 47.

°haligra hyht, Jul. 642;⁸⁸ °se hyhsta hyht, Ps. 90/9; °se soþa hyht, Ps. 141/5.

*ferþfripend, Rā. 39/3.

°Beorn, Cri.⁸⁹ 449.

*Se aepeling,⁹⁰ Cri. 448.

°Aedelinga ord,⁹¹ Cri. 515.

°Byrhtword,⁹² Klagen Eng. 238.

*Se halga, Ph. 399.

*Se aelmihtiga, Cri. 443.

*Se craeftga, Met. 11/92.

*Fruma and ende, And. 556.

*Or and ende, Rā. 84/10.

°Se steora,⁹³ Schöpf. 45.

⁸⁴Cf. *consilarius*.

⁸⁵Cf. *mediator*.

⁸⁶This phrase may be taken over from A. S. sources without any Latin influence. Andreas is called *aepelinga wynn* (And. 1223). On the other hand, cf. *summum bonum, dulce desiderium, salus populi*, et al.

⁸⁷Cf. *sigora sellend*.

⁸⁸Cf. *spes* compounds.

⁸⁹*Beorn* is often used to designate earthly heroes and may be taken over directly without Latin influence.

⁹⁰*aepeling=inclitus**. Wt.-Wülk.: Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, p. 309. The word is often used to designate Beowulf.

⁹¹Used only by Cynewulf. If *ord* means either *princeps* or *auctor* there are Latin parallels.

⁹²If *byrhtword* means "famous," it may come from *inclitus* also.

⁹³Cf. *dux*.

*Se bilwita, Jul. 278.

°Maegenā goldhord,⁴ Cri. 787.

*Se guma, Kreuz. 49.

*Godes lomb, Gu. 1015.

*Paet halige lamb, Hym. 22.

*Se weallstan, Cri. 2.

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⁴Probably there was no Latin original for *goldhord*, but doubtless the author meant "the mighty keeper of the treasures in heaven." For composition, cf. *mægena dryhten, et al.*

(To be continued.)